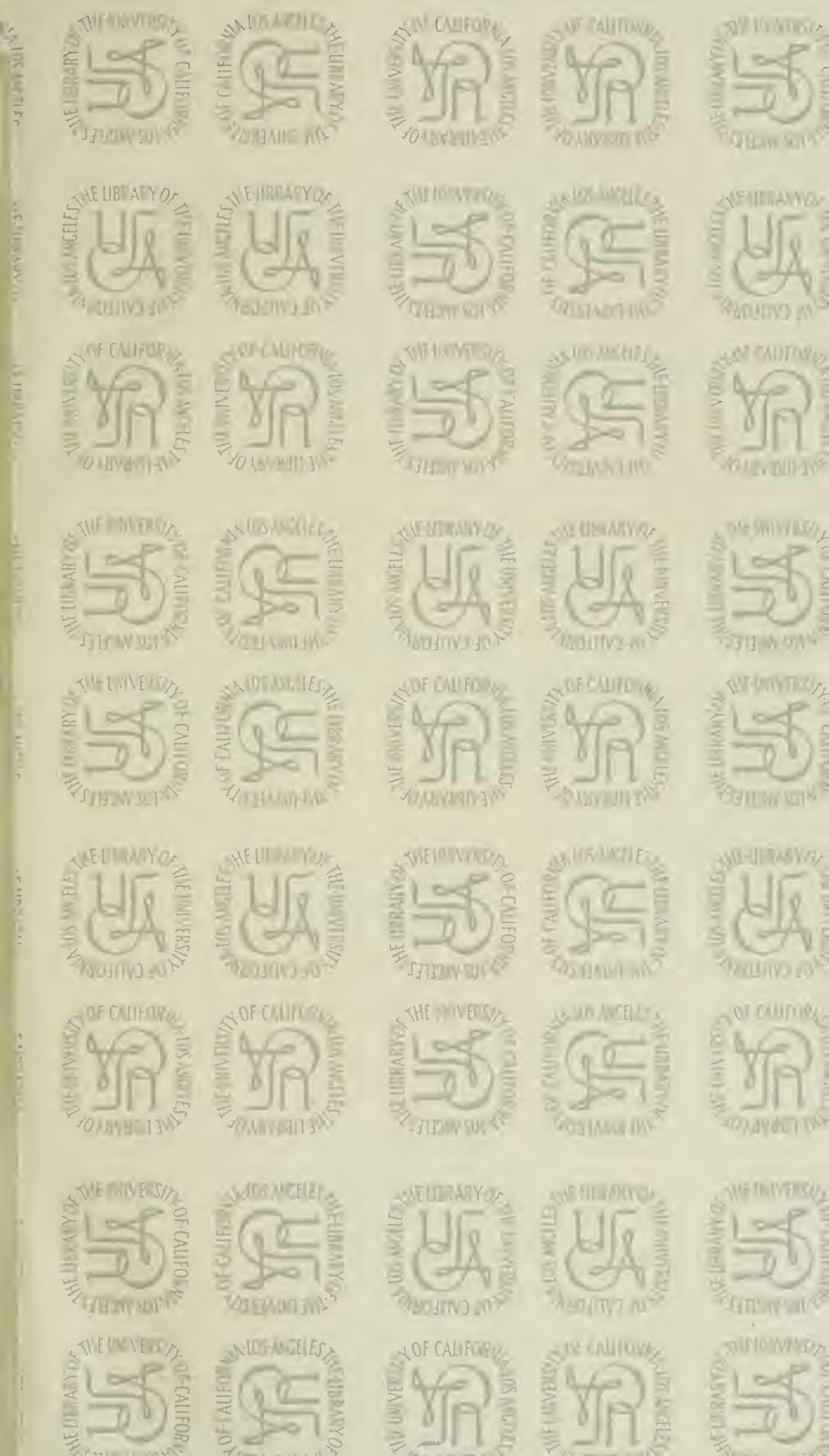


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The National Claims of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes

PRESENTED TO THE BROTHERS OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES

BY THE SERBIAN BROTHERS

MEMBERS OF THE R. L. N° 288 *Cosmos*

WITH A PREFACE BY THE

MOST ILL. BR. **General PEIGNÉ**

HONORARY GRAND MASTER OF THE GRAND LODGE OF FRANCE



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PREFACE

You do me the great favour in asking me to give you my opinion on the subject of the appeal to the Universal Free Masonry which you have taken the initiative to address to all freemasons in the name of your compatriots the Serbians, Croatsians and Slovenes.

Having been a member of the Congress of the Masonries of the nations, held in Paris, first in January 1917, then at the end of June in the same year, and having attentively followed, as President of Meetings, during these Congresses, in what order of ideas we were, what difficulties we were encountering, which were our aspirations, which were our desiderata, I cannot applaud too much to what you are attempting to-day and I wish most heartily that you may succeed. Conciliation before anything!

The principle of the creation of a League of Nations, of the solid, and if possible immovable establishment of a world's concert imposing Peace to Universe, preventing by the force itself of this pacific organization a nation of rapine to trouble, with arms, with brutality, the universal harmony, seems to have imposed itself so long already that, since centuries, this attempt has been renewed several times.

The Conference of The Hague, to speak only of one of the last efforts attempted in this sense had only a very ephemeral influence, as one of the signatory Powers did not hesitate to disown her signature, to violate her word, to commit acts of rapine, violence, brigandage, felony.

In the course of our first meetings of January 1917, our very eminent Br. Professor Charles Richet had made a very remarkable report on the League of Nations, such as he conceived it.

At our Congress of the end of June 1917, where the masonic Powers, France, Italy, Spain, Catalonia, Switzerland, Portugal, Belgium, Serbia and several Republics of North and South America were represented by their most eminent members, the study of a League of Nations took the greatest amplitude.

The particular interests special to each nation have found their advocates, contradictory theses have been exposed, even collisions have happened, and questions based, in their details, on opposed regional principles, could not find a favourable solution.

Thus it happened that the Serbian question could not be solved, in presence of the desiderata of a powerful neighbouring nation. That is why one cannot study anew too much these grave elements for the constitution of a solid League; that is why you are a thousand times right when you appeal to the desire to arrive to a durable understanding, every nation knowing how to sacrifice some desiderata in order to dispel every source of dissent. One must, therefore, consider with good faith, with the greatest desire to succeed, all the faces of the problem, cede, one to another, on certain secondary, questions, make reciprocal concessions.

I wish, very dear Brothers, that your attempt be crowned with success.

General PEIGNÉ.

RESOLUTION

voted by the Congress of the allied and neutral Masonries
held in Paris, the 28, 29-th and 30-th June 1917

In the name of the great and noble principles inspiring the universal masonic Institution and synthetized by the glorious motto: « Liberty, Fraternity, Equality » which gives to all masonic Communion their currents of action and thought;

For the supreme aim towards which are tending, since centuries, the efforts of the Freemasons: the human emancipation from every moral, religious, political, economical, oppression;

For the fraternal union of all nations which requires an universal spirit of solidarity, in order that to every nation be secured the conditions necessary for the free development of its special aptitudes, to the benefit of each collectivity and of the great human family;

In order to safeguard the supreme good of man, the Liberty, which can only be guaranteed by the respect of Right;
The International masonic Congress establishes:

That the war which is staining with blood the world for the last three years has been provoked:

By despotism;

By the desire to subdue peoples and nations;

By the subordination of Right to Might;

By the autocratic conception of a government which inculcates sentiments of hatred and of hegemonical aspirations of one people on others.

Yet, the International masonic Congress firmly believes that out of this war must spring the respect of the right of Liberty, of the pacific progress of every collectivity.

In consequence, the Congress acknowledges that, although the universal Freemasonry is principally against all wars, they must yet extol the sublime sacrifices of the nations when these are meant, like in the actual war, to repel a treacherous aggression or to create the conditions indispensable for the establishment of the free and pacific union of the civilized nations and declares that the action of the masonic families who have accepted and supported the painful necessity of war is in conformity of the principles of Universal Freemasonry.

Affirms:

The steadfast will of all masonic Powers represented at the Congress to act with the force resulting from the nobleness of the common aim, in order that the innumerable lives sacrificed to the altruistic ideal may bring to the peoples the right of reconstituting all the crushed and oppressed nationalities, all the elements which compose a national conscience being at the same time taken into consideration.

TO THE BR. . OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES

The national aspirations of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes and their resolution to live henceforth united present such an interest for the future that they must be clearly examined not only by the Diplomats assembled at the Conference of Paris but also by all those who have at heart to see a just, real and durable peace being born to the world. And indeed the solutions which will be given to these aspirations will no doubt influence the relations of the different European States of to-morrow. It is therefore a problem of general interest which has to be solved and it would be dangerous to dissimulate its importance and to present it to the public opinion of the allied countries as interesting only the new Yougoslav State and its neighbours.

The present recapitulation of the official memoranda, submitted to the Conference of Paris by the Delegation of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes, is intended to make the Freemasons of the allied countries acquainted with the national aspirations of that new State, in order that they may be able to draw their conclusions with that spirit of justice and impartiality which resides in the traditions of Freemasonry. It is natural, of course, that we desire that the arguments exposed by the Delegation of our people be previously compared with those of the other parties and thoroughly discussed. We desire this the more as the exchange of views between Freemasons, whatever be their opinion or nationality, are always dominated by the spirit of masonic fraternity and perfect sincerity.

If there are opposed theses, there can only be one which corresponds to the truth and the interests of European peace. Freemasonry, which spurns the occult combinations practi-



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D. J. Derocco

ced by secret Diplomacy and which inspires itself only by sentiments of justice, will be able to discover this truth. Besides, Freemasonry is, we believe, the only possible basis for the settlement, by amicable agreements, of the differences existing between the new Yugoslav State and its neighbours.

President Wilson and the heads of the Great Allied Powers have proclaimed more than once that the organization of the new Europe must have as base the application of the right of self-determination of peoples. By virtue of this principle, the right to unite themselves and to create their own independent national State has been recognized to the Poles of Austria, Prussia and Russia, as well as to the Checo-Slovques.

On the other hand one refuses to recognize the union of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes, which is already an accomplished fact. Of the five allied Great Powers, only the United States have recognized it up to now. As to the Governments of the great European democracies they persist in their hesitation for reasons which we will not invoke here and which are, at all events, incompatible with the principles they have proclaimed their intention to be inspired with in creating, in Europe, a peace capable of living on the base of the right of the nations to dispose of their destiny, respecting at the same time the rights of others. Yet their powers that be recognize that, if the litigious questions of economical, commercial and strategical order outside of Europe can be resolved by transactions concluded between the interested States, those that concern the nations of Europe conscious of themselves, cannot do otherwise but to respect the aspirations of these nations.

The times have passed when diplomats could, according to their good pleasure, and the imperialistic ambitions of their respective countries, impose upon the peoples of Europe régimes which did not answer to their aspirations. To-day one must consult these nations and fix their future destiny, in harmony with them.

Freemasonry would fail to its duty if it abstained to have its voice heard in the discussion of such problems which interest the peace of to-morrow's Europe. That is why we appeal to all Br.' of the allied countries to use their influence and by their councils, draw the attention of their statesmen to the consequences which every act of violence or injustice would entail that would be committed against the right to live of the nations to the profit of that or that neighbouring State and under the pretext that the strategic and economic interests of the States require it. As to the Yougoslav nation, it has furnished sufficient proofs of its vitality and of its steadfast confidence in the realization of its complete liberation, so that no force may forthwith impede this work without compromising the peace of Europe.

INTRODUCTION

The Delegates of the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes have the honour to expose in this document the claims of their nation and to show that these claims are in concordance with the principles proclaimed during the World's War and with the only conditions which could serve as a base for the establishment of a just and durable peace.

This terrible war is not a casual or unexpected phenomenon. On the contrary, it was only the logical consequence of the German Empire's policy and of the principle of the supremacy of might over right.

Our allies from the Entente know the efforts attempted by Austria-Hungary with Italy and Roumania in order to decide these two States to keep neutrality in case of an armed conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. These propositions having received an unfavourable reception, Austria-Hungary took pretext of the regrettable murder of Sarayevo to declare war upon Serbia, addressing her such an ultimatum that Serbia could not accept all its terms if she did not want to renounce her sovereignty.

All the efforts made by us, as well as by our Allies, and our sacrifices descending nearly to humiliation, in order to have the solution of the conflict submitted to the Tribunal of the Hague or to an international conference, failed.

Austria-Hungary and Germany were decided to provoke the war if Europe did not allow them to establish their power in the Balkans and to extend it down to the Persian Gulf.

Meanwhile, questions of a world's importance were tightly bound to the maintainance of Serbia as an independent State. Especially the question to know if Germany could advance through Serbia towards Constantinople and the Persian Gulf or if she would be stopped on this road and obliged to renounce to the policy of violence.

In consequence of her geographical situation which places her between two worlds and two civilizations, Serbia had acquired, since centuries a first class international importance.

Dragged in this world's war by the Austro-German attack, notwithstanding all their efforts to submit the conflict to an international tribunal, our Allies manifested that they wished that in future the nations, small and great, be sheltered against similar brutal attacks, that the culprits be punished and guarantees established in order to avoid for ever the repetition of similar events and to secure the freedom and the right of every nation to dispose herself of her destinies.

They have declared to their countrymen in compliance to the ideas of the eminent President of the United States that they were making war because they desired to guarantee to all nations, big and small, justice and freedom and an international peace, just and durable, based on the right of every nation to freely dispose of her destinies. They manifested their wish to found such an international organization which would diminish the weight of armaments and would, in future, make impossible the shedding of torrents of blood and the destruction of the acquisition of whole generations, as it was done, by Germany, during this war.

After this solemn declaration made in answer to the question put by Germany on the aims of the war of the Powers of the Entente and of the United States of America, the whole world understood that the aims of the war of the first hour were enlarged and had taken the form of the guarantee of the rights and of the liberty of all nations, big as well as small.

The Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes constitute one single nation which possesses, already very long, her particular civilization and her intellectual unity. And to-day this nation is at the height of modern progress, from the literary and artistic points of view. Although worn out by the two Balkanic wars, that nation took, during the actual war which had been imposed upon her, the firm resolution to definitely realize her national unity.

In this sentiment of her national unity and clearly conscious of the justice of her cause, our nation has found the force to sustain this new effort.

Volunteers, Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes from ancient Austria-Hungary competed in heroism with their brothers from Serbia in this struggle. All the time it lasted they rushed from all points of the world, from Russia, America, and even Australia, to gather around the flags of King Peter; they reached nearly the number of 100.000 combatants in the Serbian Army. In 1916, we formed in Russia, under the command of a Serbian general, an army corps from Austro-Hungarian prisoners belonging to our race; this army corps rushed to the help of Roumania, fought in the Dobroudja and their feats of arms count among the most glorious of this war. When Russia foundered in her disorganization, these troops were obliged to quit that unhappy country; partly by the North Sea, partly by the Extreme East, they came to Salonika where, constituted as Yougo-Slav division in the Serbian Army, they recommenced the struggle; the taking of Koziak was the achievement of that division. Those of these men who were unable to quit Russia fight still under the allied flags in Siberia and Mourmania.

This solidarity of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes on the battle-fields has found, in all classes of the population, an echo which has translated itself by spontaneous manifestations in all our provinces of the ancient Austria-Hungary and Montenegro; they had, as consequence, the formation of the common Government of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes, in perfect accord with all the legal representatives of all our nation.

Thus the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes is an accomplished fact, resulting from the will of the people. The Kingdom of Serbia has solemnly proclaimed the union of all our nation in one single national State. The Great National Assembly of Podgoritza has unanimously voted, in the name of our nation of Montenegro, its union with Serbia and, with rest of our nation, in the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes.

The fact of the union and the constitution of the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes has been officially notified to the Allied and Neutral Governments.

The regions inhabited by our nation comprise the territories situated in the Southern Alps neighbouring German Austria, on the banks of the Sotcha, the Mur, the Drave, the Sava, the Danube, the Tisza, the Timok, the Vardar and the Strouma, and on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. Our people possesses a very developed conscience of its unity.

It is absolutely necessary for the future peace that normal conditions of existence be finally secured to this important part of Europe; this can only be done by the creation of a single State, based on the principle of nationalities. The general interest demands that all the possibilities of a regular existence be secured to this State; only in this will it be able to consolidate itself and to devote all its energies to its economical and intellectual development. And this can only be done if our people, which has conquered its independence, completely resolves the problem of its State frontiers in such a way that they unite all the people belonging to the race of the Serbians, Croatsians and Slovenes.

The principle of nationalities imposes this solution as essential condition of the new state of things which has to be created in the Peace Conference.

Our State has a national base, that is why our nation claims what belongs to it. The principle of nationalities and the right of the nations to dispose themselves of their destinies constitutes the base of our State.

In consequence, we demand the recognition of the union to our State of all countries which, according to the principle of nationalities, must belong to it.

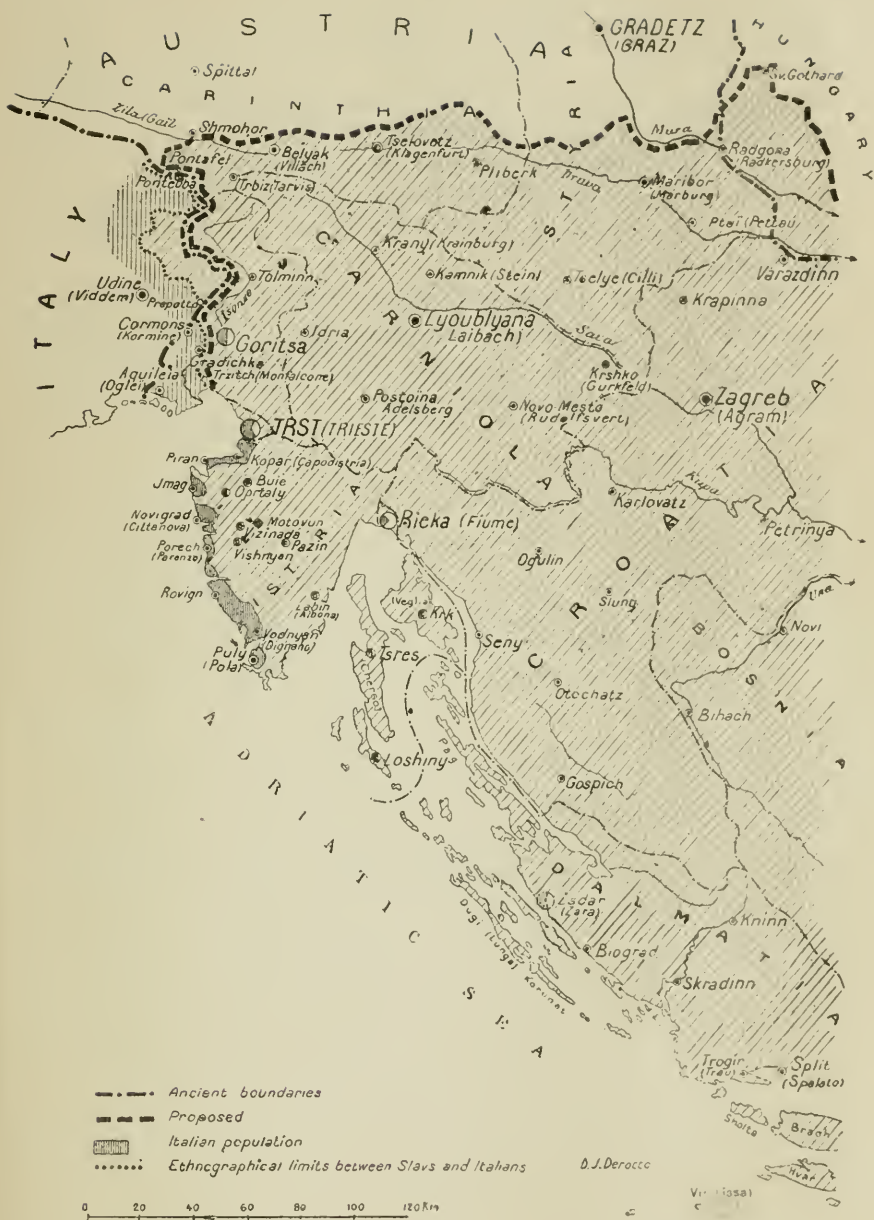
The Frontier with Italy

The western frontier between the Yougoslav and Italian races, inasmuch as they present compact masses, is marked more precisely perhaps than anywhere else in the world. For the last thirteen centuries i. e. since the epoch when the Slovenes occupied the regions which they inhabit to-day, this frontier has not been deplaced to the prejudice of the Italian race. Just on the contrary, the Slovenes have lost, in favour of the Italians, much ground in the region of Udine, Gradiska and Monfalcone, as is shown, to-day still, by the numerous Slav names of the localities between the Tagliamento and the lower Isonzo.

The ethnographic frontier between the Slavs and the Italians begins near Pontafel and goes, towards the South, along the old Austro-Italian frontier to Mount Canin where it turns to the West in order to comprise the Slovenes of Venetia whose number amounts to 56.944, according to the *Annuario Statistico Italiano* of 1914, p. 28. North of Cormons, exactly near Prepotto, this frontier again reaches the ancient Austro-Italian frontier and continues along the foot of the Coglio (Brda) to the Isonzo on this line of the frontier, abandoning Brazzano, Cormons, Capriva, Mossa and Lucinico to the Italians. Following then the right bank of the Isonzo, the ethnographical frontier crosses this river near Sdraussina, abandons this locality to the Italians and leads to the sea. In this sector, the locality of Sagrado, Redipuglia, Vermigliano, Selz and Monfalcone, together with those situated to the West, remain to the Italians.

On the other side of this frontier, the Italian agglomerations existing on the sea coast and in the town of Goritza have no territorial continuity with the compact Italian population whose oriental limits we have just specified.

The western frontier of the State of the Serbians, Croatsians and Slovenes, in order to be in conformity with the



principle of nationalities, will therefore have to coincide as much as possible with the ethnographical frontier as it is determined above. Yet the State of the Serbians, Croations and Slovenes does not claim the Slovene territory situated on the other side of the Austro-Italian frontier.

This frontier is also justified from the geographical point of view. Indeed the calcarious formations which reach the river of Isonzo characterize all the western part of the Balkanic Peninsula.

But along all its lower part the ethnographical frontier will have to serve as new frontier between the two States, which will answer as well to the will of the interested populations as to their economical wants.

The Territories of Goritza and Gradiska and the town of Goritza

The problem of the princely county of Goritza and of Gradiska, official Austrian denomination of the region of Isonzo and its tributaries, as well as the Goritzian Carso must not be mistaken for the problem of Triest and Istria.

A badly advised administration has arbitrarily created this princely county out of two countries which, before 1848, possessed each its own provincial Diet. One of these regions (Gradiska) is only the prolongation of the Venetian plain. It is inhabited by a population of Latin race (Friuli). The hilly and mountainous region which unites the salient of the Alps to the Carso and which is generally known under the name of territory of Goritza, is, since 1300 years, inhabited by Slovenes.

The union of these two countries (Gradiska and Goritza) has not procured any advantage to their population. On the contrary, it has been the cause of dissensions between the two nationalities, so much the more that the Austrian constitution gave, in the midst of the provincial Diet the majority to a small minority of great proprietors and rich townsmen, much more numerous in the Italian plain than in the mountainous Slovene region. The representatives of the rich Italian classes (or better Friulian classes), were striving, with the help of their influence in the provincial administration, to convert the town of Goritza, in a way, to the centre of the political and economical life of the Friuli part of the province. These efforts remained vain: the geographical conditions were opposed to them, and as soon as the Friuli people, after the extension of the right to vote, could send their real representatives to the Diet of Goritza and to the Parliament of Vienna, they have not ceased to follow a policy aiming the separation of the region of Gradiska from that of Goritza.

Economically, the two regions were not brought nearer even after their union. The Slovene region sells its principal product (wine) to the East. It would be ruined if it were united to Italy where wine is produced in abundance. On the other side, the greatest part of the inhabitants of the Slovene region is composed of small independent proprietors, whilst the Friulian region is nearly all in the hands of great landed proprietors, in regard to whom the peasants are only « husbandmen ». These peasants have no right whatever to the soil. The numerous cases of pellagra existing among this population are the best proof of the total difference between the economical conditions of the population of the Friulian region and those of the healthy and strong population of the Slovene region.

Between the two nationalities a linguistic frontier has established itself during the past centuries, a frontier running nearly parallel to the historical frontier. The two sides are so exactly separated that, with very rare exceptions, there is no « commercium » and no « connubium » between the two regions and that the people from one side of the frontier generally do not understand the language spoken on the other side. It would, therefore, be just to take this line as the political frontier between our State and Italy.

The town of Goritza is situated in the country attributed thus to the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes. That country comprises a population of 174.797 inhabitants, of whom, according to the last census, 154.000 (88.1 %) are Slovenes, 16.000 (9.1 %) Italians and 3.500 Germans.

Under normal conditions every town must be the faithful expression of the region which feeds it and whose economical centre it is. Now, the region of Goritza, if we except the town itself, is ethnically quite uniform, as 99 % of the population have declared that they speak Slovene. In consequence there ought not to be a « question of Goritza ». The feudal régime which existed in Austria till 1848, the absolutism which followed it till 1861, and the Austrian constitution — which was anything but democratic — yet created, in the midst of a completely Slovene population, a German, and later an Italian nucleus.

The Slovenes occupied the region of the Isonzo and its tributaries in the VII-th century. They gave the name to the

little locality which, developing itself later, became Goritza. Goritza means, in Slovene, a small mountain or a hill. The Slovene origin of Goritza is also confirmed by the act of donation of the 28-th of April 1001, by which Emperor Otto III, gave to the Church of Aquileia and its Patriarch Joannes IV, « *medietatem unius villæ quæ Sclavorum lingua vocatur Goritsa* ». (Half of a locality which is called, in Slav tongue, Goritza).

The feudal lords who had chosen the hill of Goritza as seat of their authority, quickly gave a German mark to the rising town. Up to the xvii-th century the German language dominated there, in the administration as well as among the nobility and the middle classes. The Italian element did not begin to become important in the town before the xvii-th century. Venetian merchants and artisans then only begin to immigrate in greater numbers, but the Jesuits, who were expelled from Venice in 1606, contributed, especially with their schools, to the Italianization of the inhabitants of Goritza.

The Slovenes who were inhabiting the whole of the open country could not acquire any importance in the town before 1867, when the Austrian constitution recognized, at least on principle, the same rights to the Slovene language as to the Italian and German. Yet for more than forty years they had to struggle against the obstacles which the Italian and German bureaucracies were opposing to the introduction of the legal prescriptions in question.

Thanks to the rapid progress made by the public instruction during the last twenty years among the Slovene population, and thanks to the improvement of the means of communication, the affluence of the land population to the town grew more and more. The town, which formerly was pressing around the feudal castle, grew and extended itself towards the neighbouring Slovene villages, and to-day nothing but the administrative limits separate these from the town.

The last census indicates, for the town of Goritza, 10.090 Slovenes and 14.812 Italians. But with the suburbs of Podgora, Solkan, St Peter and St Andrej, the agglomeration of Goritza counts about 20.000 Slovenes and only 15.000 Italians. If one considers the administrative district of Goritza and the region of the upper Isonzo, whose economical centre is

equally in Goritza, the figure for the Slovenes mounts to 118.443, whilst the Italians remain at 17.600. In indicating these figures we have not taken into consideration the entirely Slovene region of the Carso, of the part of the Vipava valley which belongs administratively to Carniola, and of that part of the Slovene Coglio which is administratively comprised in the district of Gradiska. These regions still more augment the number of the Slovenes — bound to the town of Goritza by economical interests — with nearly 170.000 inhabitants.

At the eve of the war, the Slovenes possessed in Goritza a central organization of 80 cooperative societies, an union of more than 200 societies having as aim the moral and physical education of the people, several establishments of credit, etc.

All the Slovene political parties had their central seat in the town where they had five political periodicals besides other periodical publications. A Slovene society was publishing works treating social questions. Besides, the Slovenes maintained in Goritza, without any help from abroad, four primary schools. Since 1912, Goritza was also the seat of one secondary school and one Slovene normal school sustained by the State.

In the spring 1914, the Slovene element was already so strong in the town that the Slovenes could begin, with many chances of success, the struggle against the Italians. In order to keep the power the Italians were obliged to make a compromise with the Germans in ceding to them two places in the municipal council.

The town of Goritza is inseparable from its country. The region of the Lower Isonzo (districts of Gradiska and Monfalcone), with 72.000 Friulians and Italians, which, in order to form a province, the Austrian administration had joined to Goritza, has nothing in common with the latter. No economical or other links bind them together. The Friulan population of the Lower Isonzo does not at all wish to remain united with Goritza. They never saw in that union anything else but an obstacle to the development of their country.

An abscision of the town of Goritza, heart of the country, is impossible if one does not cut off, at the same time, a good part of the country itself. To whom would such an operation be profitable?

It is consequently quite a mistake to consider the country

of Goritza as mixed from the ethnographical point of view. Unless that Italy pretends to have the right to annex 170.000 Slovenes only in order to save the 14.000 Italians of the town of Goritza.

The point of view of those who claim, for strategical reasons, the country of Goritza for Italy, has also no available cause. In reality, the mountains which form, from Ponteba to Goritza, the ancient Austro-Italian frontier: Montasio, 2752 m., Confin, 2328 m., Presteljenik, 2503 m., Canin, 2592 m., Baba, 2161 m., Montemaggiore, 1615 m., Monte Mia, 1188., Matajur, 1641 m., Kuk, 1243 m., Kolovrat, 806 m., Tribil, 703 m., all these mountains dominate everywhere the heights which are immediately on the East and constitute, for a good army, absolutely sure points of support.

The Slovenes of the country of Goritza have a well pronounced national conscience. Their degree of civilization is very high. There are, among them, many less illiterates than among the population of Friuli. In 1910, f. i., there were in the mountainous and exclusively Slovene district of Tolmin (Upper Isonzo) only 15.12 % illiterates, while in the district of Monfalcone (Lower Isonza), which has a population mostly Italian, there were 22.1 %, although it is much easier to frequent the schools in the plain than in the mountains. Besides, the Slovenes of the country of Goritza are very well organized economically with their numerous associations of credit and of cooperative societies, and, lastly, one must not forget that this population has always been the surest obstacle against the Germanic push to the Adriatic.

It results with evidence therefore that the country of Goritza and its centre, the town of Goritza, must be integrally united to the State of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes. This union is absolutely conform to the principle of nationalities as well as to the right of self-determination of the nations; it is, besides, conform to the necessity of the economical development of the region and of the intellectual and political progress of the populations which inhabit the same.

ISTRIA

The nationality of the population in the Istrian Peninsula and its islands is much more uniform than they seem to be according to the official statistics (223.318 Yougo-Slavs, 147.417 Italians).

In the XV century, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, who, before becoming Pope under the name of Pius II, was bishop of Triest, wrote: « *Istri hodie Schlavi sunt quamvis maritimæ urbes italico sermone utuntur utriusque linguæ peritiam habentes* ». (The Istrians are to-day Slavs although in the towns of the littoral where one knows both languages the inhabitants use the Italian language). To-day Istria has the same physiognomy although the frequent wars which waged on its territory, till 1617 (Peace of Madrid), nearly completely devastated the greatest part of the Peninsula. At the end of the XVII and at the beginning of the XVIII century the Italian element of Istria could hardly be reckoned at the side of the Slav element. Only during the XVIII century a new immigration, started from the western Frioli (Northern Italy), reinforced the Italian element of the Peninsula. Since that epoch the Slav language begins to disappear from the liturgy in the churches of Western Istria. The economical enslavement of the Slav peasant by Italian usurers deprived him of the force to resist to the powerful lords of the town. There followed a long national drowsiness in the agricultural Slav masses of this part of Istria, drowsiness which, for foreign eyes, was only interrupted by signs of waking since the introduction of the universal suffrage in Austria (1917). For these reasons the official statistics which indicate in the western part of Istria only a feeble percentage of Slavs, do not give us any solid base for judging the national character of this region.

There are in the whole of Istria, between Rovigno and Pola, only five *rural* localities (Valle, Dignano, Fasana, Galosana and Sissano) whose population is Italian by race and

tongue. *The Eastern and Central parts are*, with the exception of some insignificant nuclei, *entirely Slav...* On the western coast, the small Italian towns, economically feeble, form only small islands in the Slav country and are, according to the happy comparison of a deputy, only « buttons on a Slav mantle ». The town of Pola is the only important agglomeration of Istria. The Austrian statistics of 1910 indicate, for this town, 29.000 Italians and 13.000 Slavs. The statistics were contradicted by the elections of 1911 and 1914, the results of which allow us to conclude to the presence of a practically equal number of Slavs and Italians in Pola. The progress of this town is due exclusively to the fact that it was the naval port of Austria-Hungary. In 1848, there were only 1076 inhabitants in Pola, a small island in the Slav country which surrounds it. As commercial centre Pola does not count; and, with the disparition of Austria-Hungary, its importance is extremely reduced. If the general disarmament has to follow the world's war, Pola will again become a small town like the other towns of the western coast of Istria whose population has scarcely augmented during the last hundred years.

The first legislative elections, made on the base of universal suffrage (1907), have revealed the real national character of Istria. Whilst the Slav candidates were unanimously, or nearly unanimously, elected in Eastern and Central Istria and in the Islands, the Italian candidates were obliged to submit to a second ballot with the Slav candidates in the circumscriptions of Parenzo-Rovigno-Montona (4.699 Italians and 4.713 Slavs) and Pola (3.332 Italians and 3198 Slavs). Besides, in the third Italian circumscription (communities of Capodistria and of Muggia, the district of Pirano and one part of the district of Buge) the 1.600 Slav electors decided, at the second ballot, the election of the conservative Italian candidate whom they had preferred to the others. In the circumscription of Parenzo-Rovigno-Montona the Italian candidate has only been elected with a majority of 620 votes against the Slav candidate (6124 to 5804).

There is therefore not a single compact Italian territory in Istria. For this reason the whole of Istria must be attributed to our State which will have to guarantee to the Italian element a free development.

DALMATIA

Dalmatia has no natural frontiers. She is not a geographical unity having always possessed the same limits, but is an historical creation which has had, in different periods, different frontiers. For instance, the old Roman Dalmatia was composed of eastern Istria to the river Arsa, of all the Adriatic islands, all actual Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro to the river Boyana and even Serbia up to the Morava.

Dalmatia, with her actual frontiers dates only back to 1815 whilst, in the Middle Age, she was reduced to four or five sea-towns and to a few islands. She is, in reality, only the western coast of the Balkanic Peninsula, intimately united to it by her geographical and geological structure, as well as by the ethnical laws, social atmosphere, the community of race and the political ideal. Istria and Dalmatia with all the Adriatic islands are nothing else but chains of the Dinaric Alps whose valleys have been submerged by the sea. Briefly, Istria and Dalmatia constitute the western coast of the Balkanic Peninsula, its right lung.

The Dinaric Alps by no means prevent the commerce of the western Balkanic coast with its hinterland as is proved by the Roman history and the history of the Croats and Serbians. To-day still there are Roman roads that facilitate the commerce between the Balkanic continent and the sea, roads well known to the Italian merchants who use them to go to Bosnia in order to buy cattle. Two railways unite Dalmatia with Bosnia and Herzegovina; she would have had more lines if Austria had not prevented their construction.

The toponymy of Dalmatia proves, with an absolute certitude, that this country belongs to the same geographical and ethnical group as the rest of the Balkans, because, among the thousands of Slav names, one could with difficulty find one per cent of names with a Latin origin, even on the is-

lands the most distant of the Dalmatian coast. Only the names of the principal towns and of some islands have been Italianized, or belong to an Illyrical, Greek or Latin origine.

Dalmatia and Istria, with all the big and small islands of the eastern Adriatic, constitute therefore one indivisible and living whole with the Balkanic Peninsula. To cut off the smallest part, the smallest rock would mean a real mutilation.

Because of her happy geographical situation Dalmatia has always provoked the cupidity of the conquerors. It would be too long to enumerate all the invasions which she was submitted to in the course of the centuries.

After the Yougoslavs had occupied the provinces of ancient Illyria and had definitely established themselves, their western branch, the Croatians, founded on the Adriatic shore a State whose centre was the region of to-day's Dalmatia. Before the reign of the Nemagnitch, during and even after their reign, South Dalmatia was a part of the territory of the Serbian State. The Croatian State became a Kingdom and, in the xth century, it was attached to Hungary under the form of a personal union; since its foundation it had to struggle against the Republic of Venice which wanted to dominate the Dalmatian coast. In this struggle, which lasted eight centuries, Venice was always the aggressor and the Yougoslavs only defended themselves. Our people fought with tenacity for their country and their liberty; they succumbed finally under the blows of Venice only when the Turks had succeeded to destroy their political independence. What was this struggle for the defence of the Fatherland can be judged by the history of Zadar (Zara), which, conquered seventeen times, shook off the yoke of Venice every time.

The Venetian domination which did not last less than the Turkish domination in Serbia, was for Dalmatia an epoch of intellectual and economical decline. At the same time when free Dubrovnik (Ragusa) was flourishing and saw the creation, under the influence of her prosperity, of an admirable civilization which procured her the name of « Yougoslav Athens » (the Ragusan literature of that epoch has become the patrimony of the Serbo-Croatian literature), the rest of Dalmatia, dominated by Venice, offered the picture of the greatest misery, due to the state of negligence in which that

province was held. The French, who occupied it in 1806, did not find a single public school, not a single mile of high roads. Under the domination of the French who founded the first schools and constructed the first roads, Dalmatia seemed to return to life. But, in falling, in 1815, under the Austrian domination she was again abandoned for a whole century.

The national and liberal movement, provoked in Europe, by the French Revolution, in the first half of the xix-th century, brought to the Yougoslavs of Dalmatia the waking of the national conscience which had been slumbering during five centuries of foreign domination. The struggle for the national language in the Administration and the School, for the power in the municipalities and the provincial administration — struggle directed against the Austrian system — began in the year 1860. In this struggle the national Yougoslav idea was victorious and the Austrian government was obliged to admit, in the public instruction and the administration, the language of nearly the unanimity of the population. The Italian bureaucracy which consequently lost its predominance on the Yougoslav masses, constituted the nucleus of the actual Italian minority of the towns, and it is this minority of 3 % of the population which has always the pretension to dominate the 97 % others.

40 years already before the World's War the Yougoslavs, thanks to their own efforts and against the intentions of the Austrian government, have become the rulers of all the autonomous institutions of the province. Of 86 municipal councils in Dalmatia, 85 are Slav, and only one, in Zadar (Zara) is Italian; and even this one would have been conquered by the Slavs if the Austrian government had permitted the adoption of universal suffrage. Of 41 members of the Dalmatian Diet, only 6 were Italians, elected all in the town of Zadar, in consequence of the censitary and curial system of elections, and 35 were Serbo-Croatians. All the deputies sent to the Vienna Parliament were Serbo-Croatians. An enormous Slav majority established itself in the Diet of Dalmatia, and this immense majority has never ceased to claim the union of Dalmatia with her sister provinces Croatia and Slavonia, with whom she had formed, in the Middle Ages, a flourishing and powerful State. — Austria-Hungary was always opposed to these legitimate aspirations, and always in perfect

accord with the Italian party of Dalmatia. Austria-Hungary is dead now and the Dalmatian people hopes that, with her, is dead also the system of iniquity she was representing.

The strongest argument in modern policy for deciding to whom a country has to belong is the ethnical argument. Now, it would be difficult to find a country, ethnically purer and more homogenous than Dalmatia. Here are the statistical figures:

The official census of 1910 establishes a percentage of 96.10 % for the inhabitants speaking the Serbo-Croatian language, of 2.84 % for the Italian language and of 0.75 for the other nationalities, i. e. 610,669 Serbo-Croatians and 18,028 Italians.

One part of this Italian population is formed by immigrants from Italy, and the other by Italianized natives. There does not exist in Dalmatia any autochthonous Italian population. The immigrants are descendants of Venetian functionaries remained in Dalmatia since the xvii and xviii-th centuries, or of Austrian functionaries from the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom who have settled down in the country in the first half of the xix-th century, or, lastly, of small merchants, artisans, sailors or fishermen quite recently come from Italy and who have formed new Italian colonies similar to those of Marseille, Tunisia or Argentine. The rest is composed of Slavs, Italianized in the schools, or of adherents of the Italian political party, which, quite recently still, was detaining the power. Yet, all these Dalmatians of Italian tongue have always declared to be, not Italians, but Slavs of Italian civilization.

The ethnical character of the town of Zadar also does not differ from the other Dalmatian towns.

In her fight against Venice Zara (Zadar) showed more resistance than any of her sister-towns. Although her Slav population was exterminated or dispersed more than once by the Venetians, her substance always remained Slav. To-day, Zadar is a small town of functionaries, last rampart of an Italian bureaucracy in a purely Slav country. After having been, under the Venetian and Austrian dominations, the chief-town of the province, she is to-day the seat of the greatest number of Italianized functionaries who, with their families and their connections, constitute the majority of the po-

pulation; but this majority is limited to the urban part of Zadar, to the town itself, without the suburbs and outskirts, as, when one considers the whole community of Zadar, one sees that the Slavs are there in the proportion of 3 to 1 Italian and, in the district of Zadar, the proportion is of 7 to 1.

Concerning the Dalmatian islands, their population is purely Slav and possesses a highly developed national conscience. They are so much Slav that, ex. gr., in the island of Lissa, the most distant from the continent, among 10.041 inhabitants, one cannot find even 1 % Italians.

The Serbo-Croatian literature has its principal roots in the islands which emulated with Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in poetry. The most ancient stone inscriptions in modern Serbo-Croatian language are in Starigrad (Cittavecchia, small town on the island of Hvar (Lesina); one even finds inscriptions in glagolite characters in Soutchouraï of Lesina.

Thanks to a millenary struggle, the Dalmatians have conserved the Paleo-Slav liturgical language in the churches which resound still, even in Zadar, of Slav psalms in the same way as at the time of Alexander III.

Dalmatia is the purest of all Slav countries and five centuries of foreign domination have not succeeded to denationalize her; her national Slav conscience is more lively than anywhere else in the Balkans. The Dalmatian Diet, at the opening of every session, has never failed to ask, in a special and solemn address, the union of Dalmatia to Croatia. If one gives to Dalmatia the possibility to freely express her sentiments it is more than certain that she will affirm, with a nearly unanimous vote, her will to be united to the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croatsians and Slovenes.

The Southern Slavs have never had and will never have any velleities of conquest. They are a pacific nation which only desires to live in peace with all the world.

Their geographical position, exposed to all the cupidities and to all invasions, has obliged them to become bellicose, but only for the defence of their native soil. That is the reason why they desire natural and secure frontiers which would give them a pacific existence, and they believe that, of all, the best and the most natural frontier is without any doubt the sea.

That is why they could never tolerate the establishment of any Power whatever on the eastern coast of the Adriatic or on the islands which are an integral part of the same; they would consider such occupations as strategical bridge-heads aiming new conquests on their territory. The islands on the eastern coast of the Adriatic can be considered as fortresses, but only as defensive fortresses and not as offensive fortresses. These islands, in the hands of a foreign power, would really be fortresses directed against our country. If such a thing were to happen, our State would lose every liberty of action; it would fall under a foreign domination and would be in a perpetual insecurity. Being continually menaced of a sudden hostile attack it could not devote all its forces to the task of the development of its public instruction and economical prosperity, but would be obliged to concentrate all its energy in order to prepare defences against the danger of a foreign invasion. Its forces would be completely paralysed and its sovereignty illusory.

The assertion that the possession of the eastern shore of the Adriatic, or at least of some of the islands is necessary to Italy to guarantee her western coast against the danger of a pretended aggression on our part, is absolutely unfounded. For, if the eastern shore of the Adriatic is well furnished with ports and golfs, the western coast is richer in population and natural resource which are the base of every military and political force. That is the reason why the eastern shore has never been able to dominate the western; on the other hand this latter has conquered the eastern coast several times, not in a defensive purpose but with the well determined intention to establish its domination on the Balkan Peninsula.

The Romans acted like this in ancient times and, at a more recent epoch, the Venetians; and that is what want to realize those who are claiming for Italy one part of the eastern shore, invoking the necessity of thus protecting the Italian shore.

The liberty of the Adriatic sea will be secured, when there will be, facing a rich and peopled Italy, on the eastern coast, another State capable of counterbalancing her. But on the day when Italy adds to her economical preponderance the strategical factor, in settling down on the eastern shore, the Adriatic Sea would immediately become an Italian lake.

The annexation of Dalmatia would mean for her a certain economical decay and create, for the organization of our State an incurable wound. The Eastern shore, rocky and poor, does not possess the conditions of an independent economical life; its natural function is to be the outlet of the rich plains of the Danube, Sava, Bosna, and Morava valleys to the sea, as these countries give this shore its life. Separated from the rest of our State Dalmatia, as it has been proved by five centuries of her history under the Venetian and Astrian dominations could not live a normal life.

Under a foreign domination, the ports of Dalmatia could not pretend to become the transit ports for the commerce of her hinterland; on the contrary, belonging to our State they would spring into greater life and vigour has exportation ports of the natural riches of the adjacent Yougoslav countries.

All these reasons speak in favour of the incorporation of Dalmatia to the kingdom of Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes. But the strongest of all is the firm, decided, and resolute will of the Dalmatian people to be reunited to their national State, and the right which our nation has to our territorial integrity. A solution of the Dalmatian question, contrary to the will of the population, would inevitably allow to subsist a germ of new conflicts.

RIKEYA (Fiume)

The last official statistics of 1910 indicated, for the town of Rijekka, the presence of 24.212 Italians, 6.493 Magyars, 2.315 Germans and 15.687 Yougoslavs, which ensures to the Italians a relative preponderance.

The whole situation of Fiume is, for nearly fifty years, dominated by the fact that the Magyars intended to establish in that town an hegemony as jealous as artificial. Impotent to establish themselves and maintain the superiority of numbers, they tried at least to paralyse, by alliances or political combinations, the opposition of the only element which they had to fear and the only one with which they ever had prolonged and serious quarrels, the autochtone Croatian element.

As soon as one leaves, not the agglomeration, but only the town itself of Fiume, to pass into the suburbs, the suburb of Sushak, itself an important urban centre, shows a population of 11.705 Slavs against 658 Italians. And if one advances into the interior of the country, or if one crosses the narrow canal which separates the land from the island of Krk (Veglia), one will find oneself exclusively, with very small exceptions, in Slav country. The suburbs of Fiume, its land outskirts, its sea environs, i. e. all that belongs to the town by a natural and indestructible solidarity, all this is purely Slav and it is superfluous to say that the hinterland is exactly the same.

If we consider, in consequence, the circumstances with a single look and from the simple ethnical point of view, the Italian and Magyar colonies of Fiume leave the impression of an enclosure in the midst of Slav populations, and, as it were, of a foreign body.

The presence of Magyars and Italians in Fiume is due to immigrations.

Fiume, whose development is quite recent, had, in 1848, only 12.598 inhabitants, of whom 11.581 were Croatians and

691 Italians. In 1854, according to Kandler, the number of the Italians had already grown, but did not exceed five or six thousands. It is quite natural to coordinate the continuous growing of the Italian colony with the progressive development of the industries of the town, the construction of the railways, the works executed at the port, etc.

Another fact accounts for the place occupied by the « Italian » element, not only among the workmen, but even in the « bourgeoisie » and the commercial classes of Fiume. This phenomenon consists in the fact that a certain number of Slav families have been Italianized in the course of the most recent times. At an epoch when the conscience of the nationality was not yet developed like to-day, when schools were rare, and when, moreover, the influence of the Italian literature, customs, fashions, was quite naturally exercised from one shore of the Adriatic to the other, many people imagined to distinguish themselves from the populace and to take, by « snobbism », more civilized manners, in adopting the exterior signs of the Italian nationality. That is what explains to-day — and one could furnish numerous examples of it — that a certain number of more or less ardent protagonists of the « Italianity » of Fiume attest, already by the name they bear, a Slav origin. But this does not prove anything from the national point of view. Still better, such failings show the irresistible character of the *national and democratic* contrary push much better, which has had the result to awaken among the immense majority of the Yougoslavs the conscience that they are an homogenous nation and which has won them over to the principles of the Entente.

Finally one must consider that the Magyars, during their mortal fight against the Croats of Fiume, have tried by all means to make use, for their own profit, of the autonomous tendency, the Italian influence and language, whilst they were suppressing all Croatian schools and were systematically keeping away the Croats from the local administration. In the midst of a town in which there was no place any more, neither in the State or municipal institutions, nor in any schools whatever, for the Croatian language, but where only Italian and Magyar were admitted for official use, it is not astonishing that among the new generation, a certain number of people, of Slav origin, learn to speak, and perhaps even to

think, in Italian and that traces of this phenomenon be found in the census of 1910.

What must especially be remembered in this rapid statement, in the pretended « Italianity » of Fiume — restricted however to the town as such — is the double product of the immigration and different forms of denationalization, imposed upon or consented. And we find the fact that everywhere, outside the town, where those two artificial factors had not found a favourable ground for their influence, the population has remained purely Slav, so much so, that even the statistics made by the Hungarian government itself completely acknowledged it.

The town of Fiume which has played an important part in the history of the Habsburg monarchy, and especially in that of Croatia and Hungary, has never had anything to do with the history of Italy, with the only exception of the very brief period, at the beginning of the xvi-th century, when Venice exercised there an ephemeral domination.

In the feudal times Fiume and its territory belonged to an ancient family of the Croatian nobility, the Frankopan, and that family ceded their property, in 1465, to Emperor Frederick III. Since that epoch, the town of Fiume formed part of the Federation of the States depending of the Crown of St. Stephen, till the day when Maria Theresia, without separating it from that Crown, declared to annex it direct to Croatia (1775).

The sense and the spirit of this innovation, which had perhaps in view to conciliate the already rival pretensions of Magyars and Croatians, intended to assign to Croatia a juridically intermediate part — it was already such from the double point of view: geographical and economical — between Hungary and that port. Besides, Fiume was enjoying a statute sanctioning certain municipal franchises.

During the revolution of 1848 and the following years Fiume was the theatre of armed conflicts between Croatians and Magyars. The latter, who had succeeded to take the town for a short time, were turned out by Yelatchich on the 2-nd of December 1849.

When, in 1867, the Habsburg monarchy undertook to reconstitute the State on the Dual system, the special situation of Fiume was the object of negotiations between the

representatives of the Croatian and the Hungarian State and one tried to settle it in the text of the compromise (Nagodba), serving to fix the general constitutional relations between Hungary and Croatia.— But one only arrived at a postponement of the question, in Art. 66, which became celebrated by the material alteration which the Magyars dared to make on the original of the document, already ratified and signed by the Emperar-King. This article, which simply stated that an understanding had not been possible and that the Hungaro-Croatian negotiations had to be renewed on this particular point, was hidden under a stripe of paper whose text stated that Croatia had renounced to Fiume. The document on which this forgery had been committed — forgery discovered only several years later — is kept in Zagreb, in the State archives, and photographic reproductions of the same have been published.

These essential points of the history of Fiume set off a stubborn, rather natural, struggle between the Magyars who, separated from the Adriatic by Croatia, wished to have there a port of their own, and the Croats who were opposing this pretension, on the base of their geographical and historical right. Italy, which arrived at her own union only during the last phase of this secular conflict, could only assist as spectator. And even the Italians from Fiume only had the occasion to immix themselves, more or less, in that conflict as allies of the Magyar policy, especially with the aim of conserving, for their own profit, certain municipal franchises, without any relations whatever with the « Irredentism ».

When President Wilson formulated the principle of auto-disposition he took good care to add « of the nations », and his thoughts certainly never went as far as the small communities. Besides, the inhabitants of Fiume who are composed, as one has seen, of Italians, Slavs, Magyars, and even Germans, could never pretend to form a nation of their own, neither from the ethnical and juridical, nor the political point of view. Even if they agreed on this pretension — which certainly is not the case — it would be untenable, as its admission would risk to lead the Peace Conference to divide into fragments and to singularly complicate its work of reconstruction on the national basis, as similar pretensions could repeat themselves.

Considering the practical consequences of a dissociation of the town of Fiume alone from the Slav territory in the midst of which it is situated, of the Slav islands which surround it and of the Slav environs which help Fiume and are helped by Fiume to live, one will judge them by the following considerations.

Fiume commands, by the railway Ogouline-Zagreb-Beograd and by its numerous branch-lines, all the basin of the Sava, and, consequently, the access to Croatia, Northern Bosnia, Hungary, Northern Serbia, the Banat and the Batchka, in one word to Slav and certain adjacent countries.

All the question is to know if, when this is once established, it is not an imperious necessity that Fiume be maintained within the limits of the territory in which it is incorporated and which it is depending on naturally — or if it is more just to make of it a sort of commercial bridge-head towards the Slav countries and the Balkan Peninsula at the disposition of a foreign Power.

If all Powers, including Italy, agreed that it was right to assure an issue on the Adriatic to pre-war Serbia, such an issue is quite indispensable to Serbia united with the Croatian and Slovene territories whose union make a State of twelve to thirteen millions of inhabitants. Well, no other Dalmatian or Croatian port, neither Shibenik (Sebenico), nor Split (Spalato), nor Dubrovnik (Ragusa), Kotor (Cattaro), nor Bor (Antivari) fulfills the conditions of geographical situation and especially of railway junction with the interior which would allow it to constitute, from the international point of view, the « issue » required for a State of such an extent.

In the hands of Italy which possesses a great number of ports, which disposes more particularly in the Adriatic of Venice, Ancona, Bari, Brindisi, Fiume would only fulfill an artificial function. Italy would use it evidently in order to impose her importations to Slav countries to the detriment of the laws of competition which protect the rights of third parties, and to subordinate their exportations to her own conditions. She could use, towards the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes, the same means of coercion which former Austria-Hungary was using without scruple against Serbia on the Danube.

Out of concern for equity, for the liberty and the elimination of causes of conflict between States, the modern tendency is to procure maritime issues to the countries which are confined in the interior of a continent. But, if it is equitable and right to procure, by artificial means, such issues to nations which do not possess them, the more it is right to leave the natural issues to those nations which possess them. It would mean a singular contradiction to deprive the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes of Fiume, of one of its principal accesses to the sea, at the same moment when one erects, to the profit of other, not maritime, States, statutes which are to guarantee them an access to the sea.

In order to separate Fiume politically from its hinterland one would be obliged to disjoin the town not only of its rural environs, to which it is united by a geographical and daily economical solidarity, but also of the suburbs themselves. The suburb of Sushak, to speak only of that, would it also be separated from its hinterland? If yes, one ought to consult the 15.000 Slav inhabitants who have not abdicated their national rights into the hands of the 25.000 Italians or Italianized of Fiume. Otherwise, instead of the simply administrative frontier which separated Sushak from Fiume till now, we would have a State frontier, a customs line between hostile Powers. In the first case, the Italian vindication is put in question or, better, seems to become more and more fragile, as the statistics for Fiume-town and Sushak united leave the majority to the Slavs. In the second case one will succeed to create an intolerable situation between a town and its urban prolongations which good sense shows to be destined to form a whole.

This port must belong to an unique Power if its prosperity has to be increased or even maintained, and this unique State can only be the Serbo-Croato-Slovene State which concentrates in Fiume its resources and its efforts.

In terminating the Delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes makes a point of stating that guarantees would be given for assuring the liberty to international commerce, destined to pass in transit by Fiume, especially to the profit of the Tcheco-Slovaque State, Poland and even Hungary, as one of the natural destinations of this port is to serve as issue for these States. —

We are equally ready to grant to the town of Fiume all guarantees destined to secure to the inhabitants of Italian tongue the free use and the development of their Italian language and civilizations.

To conclude, the only solution which is, at the same time, equitable and practical, under the guarantees expressed above, consists in acknowledging that Fiume, already included in the past within the territorial limits of Croatia, forms an integral part, with Croatia together, with the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes.

TRIEST

Triest is situated in a basin on the foot of the table-land of the Carso which surrounds it on all sides. This table-land is a prolongation of the Balkanic mountainous system; it separates completely Triest, especially on the North-West, from the plain of Frioli, from which the town is distant twenty km. in the bee-line. From this fact it results clearly that Triest is, geographically, separated from Italy, and that it is, without any doubt, comprised in the Slovene hinterland.

Ethnographically, Triest is situated in Slovene territory. Since thirteen centuries, the Slovenes constitute the autochthonous population of Triest and its environs. In 1735, there were still, in Triest, 3385 Slovenes against 3865 Italians. If that proportion has been displaced, little by little, to the detriment of the Slovenes, the causes lie in the following facts: Not only the government refused to the Slovenes every secondary education, but the municipal administration deprived them even, in the town, of the primary instruction. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the Slovenes succeeded to maintain themselves in Triest as an important minority which even played a decisive part in the political struggles. The cause of this phenomenon lies in the perpetual juvenescence of the urban population, strengthened little by little by the continuous afflux of the sane and strong population from the Slovene hinterland and by the fact that the Slovenes of Triest possess a powerful national, social and economical organization: Nearly two hundred Slovene associations exist in Triest, several banks and schools, with one commercial school, these latter being sustained by Slovene resources alone. All these institutions form an efficacious obstacle to the denationalization.

In this way it happened that, notwithstanding the census procedure favouring the predominant Italian population, Triest could, in 1910, indicate a population of 59.319 Yougo-

slavs against 118.959 Italians. Yet, the general elections of 1911, made on the base of universal suffrage, gave 14.300 votes to the Italian candidates and 10.700 to the Yougoslav candidates. This result allows us to conclude to the presence, in Triest, of 102.619 Italians and 76.719 Yougoslavs (57 % against 43 %).

From the national point of view Triest is therefore a town with a mixed population; it is separated from the bulk of the Italian territory of Frioli by regions inhabited exclusively by a Slovene population that occupy also the coast from Barcole to Devin (Duino).

Italy is consequently obliged, if she wishes to attain an artificial junction of Triest to Italy, to claim (besides the 222.000 Slovenes and Croatians of Istria) a hinterland inhabited by 155.000 Slovenes from the country of Goritza and 100.000 Slovenes from Carniola, among whom there are only 14.000 Italians in the town of Goritza. Because of the possession of Triest, in these regions of the coast, 554.000 Yougoslavs would therefore be separated from the living organism of their nation and united with Italy.

From the economical point of view Triest is a commercial town whose existence is tightly bound to its Slav hinterland. This hinterland consists of the territories of Triest, Goritza, Istria, Carniola, Carinthia and Styria. All these regions have always been directed to the port of Triest; this latter could not live if it were deprived of its hinterland, and this one has also a vital need of its natural issue. The commercial relations with Italy are relatively weak. The following figures furnish us the proof:

a) The total importation and exportation of Triest by sea amounts annually to about 31.000.000 cwts. Italy participates in this figure with 4.179.000 cwts; the Slav provinces of the Adriatic, with 4.337.000 cwts; Great Britain with 1.695.000; the Levant, Greece and the Black Sea with 6.644.000; the Extreme East with 3.129.000; the United States with 2.107.000 cwts. Italy occupies, as one sees, a less important place than the Adriatic Slav provinces which hold the third rank.

b) The exportation and importation of Triest by rail amounts annually to about 27.000.000 cwts. The Slovene

hinterland alone participates in this traffic with 8.000.000 cwts., the other Slav provinces with 1.000.000 cwts. All the Slav regions participate therefore, alone, with 9.000.000 cwts., in the railway exportation and importation of Triest, i. e. with $\frac{1}{3}$ whilst Italy participates only with 860.000, that is with a little less than the ninth part of the exportation and importation of our countries. The importance of these increases still more, in an appreciable proportion, with the importation — by road — of victuals, wood and cattle from the neighbouring Slav countries, as well as with the exportation, in the same way, of colonial goods. The rest of the exportation and importation is shared in the first place, by Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Hungary, and then the German provinces of Austria and Germany.

In conformity with the natural function of Triest, which is to serve the commerce of its hinterland, more than 50 % of the Austrian merchantmen registered in Triest are in the hands of Yougoslavs (especially Dalmatians); about 20 % are in the hands of Germans and only 30 % in the hands of Italians from Austria.

Lastly, we must mention that the Italians from Triest only possess absolutely insufficient credit establishments. They have no important bank, as the only bank which was formerly Italian, the « Banca Commerciale Italiana », has passed into the hands of the « Wiener Bank-Verein », some years ago already. All the Italian establishments of credit scarcely dispose of a capital of 9.000.0000 Kronen. The most important (Banca di Credito popolare) disposes only of a capital of 1.000.000 Kronen. On the other hand, the Yougoslav bank « Yadranska Banka », possesses, alone, a capital of 31.000.000 Kronen. One must add still the branch-office of the second Yougoslav bank « Lyublyanska Kreditna Banka », with its central seat in Lyubliana, and quite a series of other Yougoslav establishments of credit which have their seat in Triest. The Italians of Triest are obliged to make use, for their business transactions, of the Yougoslav banks, two Tehech banks and different Vienna banks.

The town of Triest is, therefore, from the economical point of view, in the first place dependent from its hinterland without which it has no right whatever to its existence. In

admitting even that Triest has an international character, it is manifest that Italy has the least share in this international character and that she has no need of this port.

In consequence of all the considerations exposed above, the existence of Triest is, from the geographical as well as from the ethnographical and economical point of view, intimately connected with its hinterland, the provinces of the Eastern (Yougoslav) coast of the Adriatic. This fact is recognized even by the Triest author, specialist for economical questions, Mario Alberti, in his work: « Trieste e la sua fisionomia economica » (Rome 1916), in which he pleads the thesis that, for the defence of Triest, Italy ought to annex, at the same time as the hinterland, Fiume, the whole of the Croatian and the whole of the Dalmatian coast. The absurdity which the vindication of Triest by Italy results in is evident by the fact, that in order to annex Triest with a little more than 100.000 inhabitants and an area of 95.03 squ. km. (of which 89.58 squ. km. are inhabited by a great Slovene majority) Italy ought to annex equally a Yougoslav population of 1.200.000 souls, occupying 32.000 squ. km.

This gives us the explanation why Triest has never belonged to Italy. All the history of Triest, formerly independent, is only a continual struggle against the Venetian Republic which, in her wish to annex and to conquer Triest, wanted only to annihilate her rival in the North of the Adriatic. But the town of Triest, being too feeble to resist alone, preferred to surrender to the German Habsburgs and to demand their protection (1382), than to submit to Venice, then mistress of the Adriatic. Since that time, for more than 500 years, the town of Triest has been politically united with the State which possessed its Yougoslav hinterland. And when Napoleon, in creating the Illyrian Provinces, whose capital was Lyublyana, detached nearly all this hinterland from the Habsburg monarchy, he joined Triest to these Provinces, notwithstanding the demands of Eugen Beauharnais and notable Venetians who were desiring to unite Triest and all Istria to Italy: the lower course of the Sotcha (Isonzo) formed the frontier between Illyria and Italy.

It is impossible not to mention the opinion expressed on Triest by the present Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy,

Baron Sydney Sonnino, firstly as author and a second time as Minister. In the review « *La Rassegna Settimanale* » (N° 29, V., 1881, p. 338), he says, on the question of Triest: « Triest is the most appropriated port for the commerce of all the German region. Its population is mixed, like the population of all frontiers. The vindication of Triest as a right would be an exaggeration of the principle of nationalities, without presenting any real interest for our defence. Trent, on the other hand, is certainly an Italian country and would represent an addition to our defence... ».

If this opinion was just and founded in 1881, it must be much more so to-day. In his note addressed to Austria on the 8-th of April 1915 (See the Green Book, annex LXXV), Signor Sonnino did not claim Triest, but only demanded that it should be transformed into an autonomous and independent State.

The idea of making of Triest an independent freeport under international guarantees, because of its importance for all the nations of its hinterland, is supported by commercial and industrial representatives of the town itself.

According to them, the international guarantee would be, for Triest, the surest defense against new German exigencies.

At all events, it is the vital interest of the town of Triest itself that it remains joined to its hinterland which nourishes the town. Detached of this hinterland and united to Italy, Triest would run straight into its unavoidable ruin and the hinterland would lose its natural issue.

The Northern Frontier with German Austria

The State of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes, and all the territory which it occupies in ancient Austria is adjacent to German, or better, Germanized territories.

The Slovenes who settled down in these regions during the vii-th and viii-th centuries had not only occupied actual Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Goritzia, the country of Gradisca and Eastern Venetia (Frioul), the territory of Triest, and Northern Istria, but also the Eastern Tyrol and the Lungau in the country of Salzburg, then the actual provinces of Upper and Lower Austria to the Danube as well as the western part of Pannonia around the lake of Balaton.

During their secular fights against the *Germans* (*Allemani, Lombards, Bavarians, Franks*) the Slovenes have lost more than half of their original national possessions.

Up to the xvii-th century the Slovene element was pushed back nearly to the linguistic frontier which it occupied, about sixty years ago, in Southern Carinthia and Styria.

During the last fifty years Germanization, at least according to the statistics, has progressed so much that the census reveals a stagnation in Styria; in Carinthia one can even establish a continual decline of the Slovenes, from the point of view of the area occupied by them as well as of their number; in 1890, this province numbered 101,030; in 1900: 90,495; and in 1910: 82,212.

The principal reason of this decay lies in fact that it was especially in this region that the public authorities, of the State, the province, the municipalities, the railways, and, in part, of the Church have all striven to annihilate the Slovene element. With the exception of three, all the schools are German, whilst, in 1860, there were more than fifty Slovene schools. In Tsélovets (Klagenfurt) one used to teach Slovene in all schools; to-day, in these schools one has even excluded the Latin characters; thus one wants to prevent

them to read Slovene books. The Slovene language is nearly completely banished from the offices; the Slovene functionaries are « white blackbirds »; Slovene lawyers, who had claimed the use of their language in law proceedings when Slovenes were interested parties, have been punished with disciplinary penalties.

The war had to give the last blow to the Slovene nationality in Carinthia. The little number of Slovene intellectuals, especially in the Clergy, were accused either of philoserbism or panslavism and, in consequence, sentenced to prison or hard labour. Among the victims was also the only Slovene deputy of Carinthia Mr. Grafenauer, who was condemned to five years of hard labour.

The Germans wanted to quicken the apparent or real Germanization of this region, not only with violence but also with the falsification of the official statistics.

They succeeded the more as the expression of « usual language » (Umgangssprache) allows the greatest misuse. The commissaries of the census, nearly all Germans, inscribed as Germans all those who were under a dependance whatever, of a public authority or of German business men and especially those who had not taken care to declare, explicitly and formally, to belong to the Slovene nationality. In this way it happened that one has indicated, as purely German, certain villages in which there had not been, according to the official statistics, one single German 10 years before.

To quote only one example, one has counted:

In 1900. 409.531 Slovenes and 902.313 Germans.

In 1910. 409.681 Slovenes and 983.252 Germans.

In the last ten years, the Slovene population has therefore increased of 153 only and the German population of 80.909!!

And yet one has officially established that, among the Slovenes, the natality increases twice quicker than among the Germans. For instance, between 1880/90, there were among the Slovene population of Styria, which amounted then to 388.119, 32.869 new-borns, whilst among the German population of the same province, which amounted then to 791.811, there were during the same period only 29.071 new-borns.

Between 1890 et 1900 the Slovenes of Styria (400.180) had 39.535 new-borns and the Germans (817.923) only 39.107.

Such facts must be taken into consideration at the time of the delimitations of the future frontier which will have to be established according to the following principles.

Firstly, one must take into consideration the nationality of the inhabitants who are forming a compact mass.

The towns and the burroughs, with their mixed population, do not make any obstacle to the continuity of the Slovene territory, as the mixed or German character of these economical or administrative centres is only the artificial result of the system of Germanization which consisted in the appointment of Germans to all official functions. With the change of the system these Germans will disappear.

In order to establish the nationality one cannot take as basis only the last census of the population, but one must also take into consideration other data, especially all the statistics and descriptions of the linguistic frontiers.

In presence of the large losses which the Slovenes have been submitted to in consequence of an incessant Germanization, it is only just to demand that our frontier comprises the last village in which is still conserved the tradition of the Slovene sentiment.

According to the principles mentioned above, the new frontier starts from the ancient Austro-Italian frontier West of Pontafel, comprising the districts of Trbige (Tarvis) and of Smohor (Saint-Hermagor) from which have been taken away the German municipalities of Rattendorf, Sankt-Lorenzen, Weidegg, Weissbriach, Mitschig, Guggenberg, Troppolach, the small town of Hermagor and the western part of the municipality of Moschach. The rest of these districts will have to be comprised in our State, as it is inhabited by a mixed population, whose majority is Slovene.

The district of Podkloster (Arnoldstein) has equally a Slovene majority of 2/3.

The town of Belyak (Villach), situated on the linguistic frontier is, it is true, already strongly Germanized. Notwithstanding this, one has been obliged to comprise it into the frontiers of the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes because it constitutes an essential part of the Slovene territory and because it is the economical centre as well as the intersection of all the means of communication of the western Slovene part of Carinthia. All the roads and rail-

ways coming from the Slovene West, South and East, i. e. from the valleys of Kanal, Zila (Gail) and Roge (Rosental) and those that run along the Vrbsko yesero (lake of Woerth) concentrate themselves on that town. These regions, completely Yugoslav, must belong to our State. Besides, Belyak is one of the towns where the Slovene language has been banished from public life only in the course of the last century. In 1857 one was still teaching Slovene in all schools of that town. In the churches, the sermons are still preached in Slovene.

Then the frontier cuts the lake of Ossoye (Ossiachersee) and unites, to the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes, the town of Tzelovetz (Klagenfurt) with the historic camp of Gospa Sveta (Zollfeld).

Tzelovetz (Klagenfurt), the capital of Carinthia is the economical centre of the South part, i. e. the Slovene part of that province. Consequently one cannot separate them without great inconvenience for one or the other. The railways coming from the Slovene regions of Carinthia lead to that town.

From the national point of view Tzelovetz was, at the middle of the last century, still the centre of the Slovene national life, and for the greater part, a Slovene town (According to Ficker : 6,000 Slovenes and only 3,419 Germans). But it is precisely in Tzelovetz and its environs that one has introduced, with the least scruple, the system of Germanization « à outrance ».

The frontier comprises then the Slovene part of Sveti Yanès no Mostitchu (St. Johann am Brückel), belonging to the district of Svinetz (Eberstein), and encloses the district of Velikovetz (Vœlkermarkt). With the exception of the municipality of Puštritz (Postritz), the whole of this district, 5/6 of whose population are Slovenes, must belong to the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes.

As for the district of St. Paul one will unite to our State, besides the Slovene municipality of Oistriza (Kienberg), the municipalities of Dolni Dravograd (Unterdrauburg) and of Labud (Lawamünd) which one must consider as having a mixed population.

Further the frontier passes to Styria and comprises all the administrative district of Slovenigradetz (Windischgrætz),

the population of which is Slovene for at least 85 %. From the administrative districts of Lipnitza (Leibnitz) and of Radgona (Radkersburg), the frontier leaves to our State only the purely Slovene municipalities or those that have been half-Germanized during the last years. At this place the river Moura (Mur) constitutes the natural frontier from Spilye (Spielfeld) to Obraina (Halbrain). There the new frontier crosses the Moura and reaches, near the village of Grouizla on the Kouchniza, the actual frontier between Austria and Hungary.

All the territory, on the South of the line described above, is inhabited by a compact Slovene population; it is only in the centres where the seats of the administrative and judicial authorities are that one can also find Germans who according to the official statistics, constitute the majority in Maribor (Marburg) and in Tzélic (Cilli).

What are these « Germans »? One will understand it better in consulting the official statistics which indicate that, in these towns 70 % of the population are natives of Slovene municipalities and, consequently, belong evidently to the Slovene race. The pression of the government has transformed them into « Germans », but, as soon as this pression will have ceased, they will quite naturally return to their original nationality, i. e. to the Slovene nationality.

Besides, it is impossible to separate these towns from their Slovene environs because there is no territorial continuity with German Austria and because they cannot exist without the help of their immediate surroundings.

The North Frontier with Hungary

a) In the Batchka

The Batchka is a region situated between the Danube and the Theiss which has no natural frontier towards the North. This fertile plain extends over an area of 10.000 square kilometres. With the exception of two canals which unite the Danube and the Theiss, these two rivers are the only navigable water-roads in that region. Both of them converge in the direction of Belgrade respectively of the Morava and Vardar plains and it is in this direction that the natural products of the Batchka are guided into regions destitute of cereals.

When the Magyars descended into the Batchka towards the end of the ix th century they found there Yougoslavs who maintained themselves till the beginning of the xvi th century. New Serbian elements coming from the Balkans established themselves in the Batchka progressively during the Turkish period (1526-1686) and gave to the region a Serbian physiognomy. It is, consequently, comprehensible that on the monuments of that epoch and on the maps of the xvi-xvii-, and xviii th centuries, the Batchka was called « Rascia » (Raczorszag) i. e. Serbian country.

The Magyar historian Dr. Ignacz Acsady has calculated, according to the lists of the taxpayers in 1720 to 1721, that, at that time, there were in the Batchka 95 % Serbians, 3,5 % Hungarians and 1,5 % Germans.

Immediately after the liberation of the Batchka (1680), the central authorities began the systematical colonisation of that region with Magyar and German elements. This action was especially intensified since the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867.

According to official statistics the whole Batchka has 812.000 inhabitants. The statistics of the nationalities of this

region are still more falsified to the advantage of the Magyar nationality than in the Banat. As is generally known, in Hungary as well as in Austria, as soon as some one could express himself in an official tongue he was immediately classified into the category of the Magyars or Austrians, the authorities not taking into consideration the national sentiment or mother tongue.

The Batchka was a more fertile ground to such proceedings than any other country. In this region there live, in great numbers, two branches of the Yougoslav family, the « Bounievtzi » and the « Shoktzi » pure Serbo-Croatians by tongue, blood and national customs. In consequence of their religious affinity with the Magyars (as they are all, without exception, Roman Catholics) they quickly became the object of Magyarisation and of the falsification of the official statistics.

According to the native ethnographer Manditch, there were in the Batchka, in 1897, 95.348 Bounievtzi and Shoktzi. Considering the increase of the population between 1897 and 1910 one can value the number of these two branches of the Serbo-Croatian nation to 100.000 at least. On the other side, the official Magyar statistics count, in the same year, among the 70.335 « various » only 68.527 Bounievtzi and Shoktzi, which gives us only in this item, a difference of 32.000, suppressed to the Serbo-Croatians and added to the number of the real Magyars.

The exactitude of Manditch's statistics is confirmed so to say unconsciously by the official monography published by the provincial government of the Batchka in 1895, according to which the Serbians form the majority of the population in Subotitza (Szabadka) i. e. in flagrant contradiction with the official statistics of the Magyars.

According to the official Magyar statistics of 1910, there are in the Batchka, of a total of 812.382 inhabitants.

363.513	Magyars,
190.697	Germans,
30.137	Slovaques,
386	Rumanians,
10.760	Ruthenes,
1.279	Croatians,
145.065	Serbians,

70,545 « various » (among whom 68,527 Bounievtzi and Shoktzi and 141 Tchechs). That is, there are 211,869 Serbo-Croatians (the Bounievtzi and Shoktzi included) and 41,038 other Slavs (Tcheco-Slovaques and Ruthenes) or a total of 255,907 Slavs.

But our State does not claim the whole of the Batchka. According to the annexed map there remain with Hungary the district of Baesalmas (less the village of Baimok), the town of Baja and the district of Baja (less the villages of Bereg and of Santovo) with 112,302 inhabitants (of whom 70,257 are Magyars, 10,310 Slavs and 31,371 belong to other nationalities. The rest of the Batchka which ought to be annexed to the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes, numbers 700,080 inhabitants, who, according to the Hungarian statistics, are composed of :

245,567 Slaves (Serbo-Croatians and others),

293,255 Magyars,

161,591 of other nationalities (the great majority of these are Germans).

In rectifying the respective number of the Slavs and the Magyars with the only figure of 32,000 Bounievtzi and Shoktzi, counted as Magyars, the number of the Slavs, in this Yougoslav part of the Batchka exceeds 277,000, whilst the number of the Magyars is reduced to 261,000. The Slavs have there also the relative majority as well as the intellectual and economical preponderancy, the greater part of lands belonging to them, and they forming the majority of the town population. (in the greatest towns of the Batchka : Subotitza, Novi Sad and Sombor, the Serbo-Croatians form the absolute or relative majority.

The numerical proportion will be still more favourable to the Slavs when this region will be united to the State of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes, as the functionaries, officials and servants of the State who are all Magyars would abandon this region as well as all the others inhabited by a non Magyar majority as soon as the Magyar power would cease.

One must observe also that not only the number of the Serbo-Croatian Roman Catholics has been reduced by the official Magyar statistics to the advantage of the Magyars, but also the number of the Orthodox Serbians given by the

statistics must be inferior to the truth. One is bound to come to this conclusion if one compares the figures given by the official statistics of 1910 (145.065 Orthodox Serbians in the Batchka) with the results of the census made in 1913 by the Orthodox Consistory of the Batchka (189.316 Orthodox Serbians in the same region). One will, therefore, not be far from the truth when one estimates that the total number of Slavs living in that part of the Batchka which we claim for our State amounts to 300 000, whilst the number of 180.000 (deduction made of the fluctuating population, functionaries and State servants and 18 to 19.000 Jews) the permanent population of Magyar tongue amounts only to 200.000.

This proportion could be bettered still if the State were to lend its help, on the basis of reciprocity, to the Magyars who would emigrate from the Yougoslav territory to Hungary as well as to the Serbo-Croatians who would be ready to abandon the regions conserved by Hungary in order to establish themselves in Yougoslav territory; because one must not forget that if a rather important amount of dispersed Magyars will be forcibly united to the Yougoslav State, there will remain on the other hand, in Hungary, outside of the frontiers of our State, about 200.000 Yougoslavs (along the Western frontier of Hungary, on both banks of the Danube, from Presbourg to Baja and in the region of Segedin Baja and Arad).

At all events the national minorities will not be oppressed in the Yougoslav State which is ready to give them every guarantee against the denationalization which had been exercised by the Magyars to the detriment of the other nationalities of ex-Hungary.

b) In Baranya and Somogy

The population of eastern Baranya was formerly nearly exclusively Serbo-Croatian. But the different migrations and wars which have taken place in these regions, the methodical extermination of the Serbians, especially during Francis Rackosy's insurrection (1703-1711) the systematical expulsion of the Serbian element and the violent colonization

with foreign elements have weakened the indigenous Serbo-Croatian population of that province.

To these historical events we must add the Austro-Hungarian policy which, constantly led by the idea of Germanization and of Magyarization, used to settle in the midst of the Serbo-Croatian population of this country firstly Germans and then Hungarians. Besides, Austria favored the German and Magyar nobilities in granting them enormous lots of ground in Baranya which they still possess to-day (1). These great land properties are cultivated under the management of Germans and Hungarians, by imported German and Hungarian labour and make thus the colonization and the Germanization of this province much easier.

In the part of Baranya (See annexed map) which has to be attributed to the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes, according to the proposed delimitation, there are 31.711 Serbo-Croats, and 42.074 Hungarians. But this latter number comprises several thousands of Serbo-Croats who have been inscribed as Hungarians, as well as all the functionaries, Hungarians or not Hungarians, arbitrarily inscribed as such, with their families (employees, workmen of railways, mines, factories, roads, etc.).

This part of Baranya is claimed by our State as an indispensable link between the Yugoslav region of Ossek (Slavonia) and that of Sombar (Batchka).

For similar reasons, the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes, must claim the narrow zone on the North of the Drava which includes the railway which unites the Yugoslav regions situated beyond the Moura (Medjournourie and Prekomourie) with Slavonia and the Batchka (Zakany-Bares-Siklos-Mohacs). In this ribbon of territory there are numerous Serbo-Croatian localities whilst the number of Hungarians of this region who would be annexed to our State amounts only to some thousands of inhabitants.

The triangle situated between the Moura, the Drava and the Austro-Hungarian frontier, is inhabited by a Croatian

(1) Ex. gr. the estate of Archduke Frederick, late Commander-in-chief of the Austro-Hungarian army, has an area of 62,750 hectares; the one belonging to the German reigning Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe of 28,248 hectares; the property of the Roman Catholic diocese 14,750 and of the Roman Catholic Archbishop 12,600 hectares.

population (92 %) and belonged according to historical rights to the kingdom of Croatia. In 1861, the Government of Vienna recognized its union with Hungary.

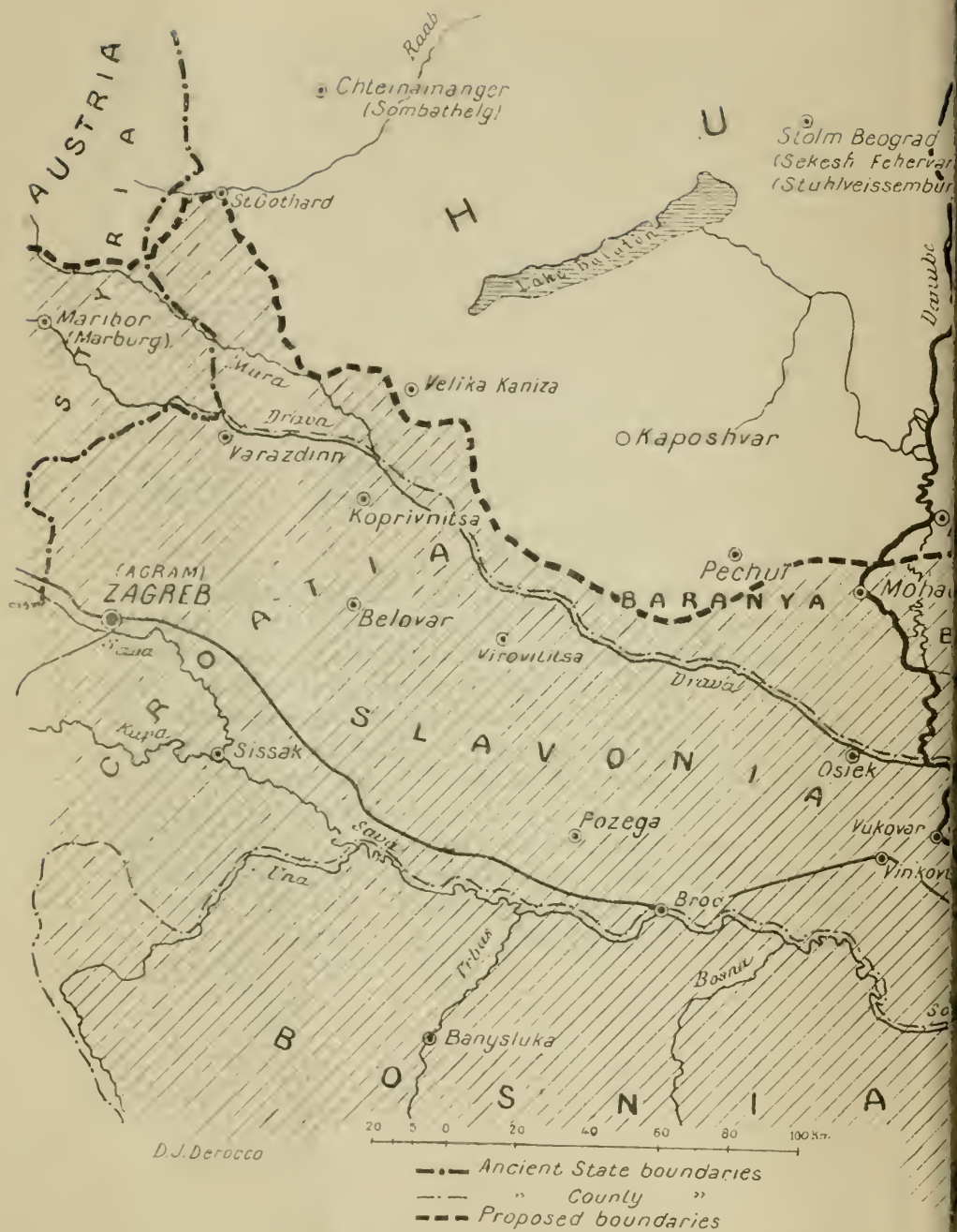
When the Hungarian and Croatian compromise was concluded (1868), the Magyars refused even a discussion establishing to whom this territory belonged in reality. Thus the administration remained in their hands.

By the nationality of its population and by its geographical situation, the Medjmourie as the natural and uninterrupted continuation of the Slovenske Goritsé (Windisch-Büheln) in the Slovene part of Styria belongs, most evidently, to the State of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes.

The name of Prekomourie is applied to the part of Hungary situated between the Moura, the Koutchinitza and the Raab and extending itself to the North till St. Gothard and, to the East, to the Krka.

According to the principle of nationalities the inhabitants of this region belong to the State of the Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenes, as they are, for the greatest part, Slovenes by race and by tongue and whose number amounts to 92.000.

The ethnographical frontier on the western side of the Prekomourie could serve as political frontier towards German Austria, so that the valley of Doiberbach, inhabited by Germans, would not be included. On the North the frontier would follow the river Raab, from Donji Sanik (Alsaszolnok) till Haromhas; then it would continue to the South and after having reached the river of Krka, near Domafold, and the Mala Krka (Kiss Kerka), near Kercsa, it would follow the water-shed between the Krka and the Lendava.





Conclusions concerning the North of the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes

Starting from the Serbo-Roumanian frontier on the Maros (between the town of Arad and the village of Zadorlatz), the frontier descends the Maros to its mouth in the Tisza. From this place the frontier descends the Tisza to opposite the locality of Ilorgos, turns to the West, passing on the North of the village Horgos, to the cote 131, then through the village Melykut (on the Hungarian side) and passes to the eastern arm of the Danube, on the South of the village Bathmonostor, crosses the Danube near the cote 90; from this place it goes towards South-West near the village of Bar (on our side) to the cote 207 and to the South-West, in passing near the village Szederkeny (on the Hungarian side), and to the cote 408. From this point it turns to the West, passing on the North of the village Viszlo, reaches the cote 102, passes to the North of the village Ujfalu, Derany and Babacska (which remain on the Serbian side). The frontier turns then to the North-West towards the villages of Udvarhely, Ezenta. Iharos, Bereni (which remain on the Serbian side, to the cote 192, turns to the West, passing by the middle line between the localities of Horvat Miklos (on the Hungarian side) and Moura Kerestur (on the Serbian side); from there it goes to the North, to the cote 325, then to South-West, passing through the village Szemenye, arrives at the river Moura, to the East of E. Szemenye, continues to follow the Moura to the mouth of the river Lendava. From this point the frontier turns to the North, passes the cotes 328, 165, 218, and arrives, a little more to the North, to the river Raab, East of the locality St.-Gothard; then it descends the river Raab down to the actual frontier between Austria and Hungary; it

follows this frontier to Kloch (on the Serbian side); from this place it turns to the South-West and descends to the Moura near the mouth of the river Gnás, then reascends the Moura to the mouth of the river Sulem (South of the town of Leibnitz); from this point it goes to South-West, to the cote 623, then to the locality of Arnfels (on the Serbian side), then, in passing over the cote 758, it turns to the West towards Rodelberg (cote 1048); continues to the West in passing generally to the South of Sankt-Martin, to the South of the villages Walfnitz, Sankt-Johann, Sankt-Donat, then to the cote 1076; then to the North of Belvak (Villach), to the cote 1102, to the cote 2121; turns to the South in crossing the river Zila near Maderhilt (on the side of the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes), then, following the summit, crosses the cote 2234 and reaches the town of Pontafel.

From the geographical and strategical point of view, the frontier between the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes and Austria-Hungary can be divided in three parts:

I. The part which starts from Arad and follows the Maros to the Tisza;

II. The part comprised between the Tisza and the Danube;

III. The part which extends itself from the Danube to the Italian frontier.

The part of the frontier which goes from Arad to the Tisza is the only line which answers to all conditions of a strategical frontier, because it is the only defensive barrier in that direction. Neither in the North nor in the South of that line can one find another line which could fulfil the conditions of a good frontier; that is why, after having taken into account other considerations, we have chosen it as frontier.

From the Tisza to the Danube the frontier crosses the plain; for this reason its direction borrows the hills (« cotes ») which present the best defensive positions in that direction. If the frontier were removed to the South, all the defense of the Batchka would be compromised. As the Hungarians have at their disposal a great number of railways and roads in the region between the Tisza and the Danube, every eventual Austro-Hungarian offensive would most probably be undertaken in this direction. In consequence of this consideration it is evident that the general interest of the Allies

demands that that direction of operations be secured, and this is only possible under the condition that the frontier follows the line proposed by us.

The part of the frontier which extends itself from the Danube to the Italian frontier follows the water-shed between the river Drava and the lake Blatno, Raab; this line is the one which can fulfil the best strategical conditions of a good frontier. It is the only line lying to the North of the important Yougoslav centres: Tzelovetz (Klagenfurt), Lioubliana (Laibach) and Varajhdin, on which the fortified defense of Slovenia and Croatia could be organized.—Every other line could compromise the defense of all these territories.

We particularly draw the attention of our Allies on this part of the frontier which represents the front which is the nearest to Germany. The most probable direction of an Austro-Hungarian offensive would follow the space between the Tisza and the Danube; the direction of an eventual German offensive would surely borrow this part of the frontier.

The future peace will, at all events, secure Western Europe against any attack coming from Germany which, without any doubt, will continue to aim at the realization of her crushed plans of penetration, across the Balkans, to the Persian Gulf, and India, exactly in the East, in the Balkans themselves.

It is not excluded that Germany finds in the Balkans, among the Danubian States, allies who would consent to form an alliance with her at the propitious moment, against special promises and with the hope of considerably increasing their territories at our expense.

For traditional, political and military reasons our nation will certainly always remain the surest adversary of any attempt of German penetration to the East and Extreme-East.

It is our most intense desire to resist in the future, as we have done in the past every German invasion and to devote ourselves completely to this task. But if one wants our nation to realize these wishes and to fulfil this duty it is absolutely necessary to create favourable conditions for it. The primordial condition of an efficacious defense is to have a good strategical frontier, and there is no other which answers to this condition better than the frontier we are demanding.

The north-eastern frontier with Roumania

The Banat is peopled by Serbians, Hungarians, Roumanians and Germans. The Serbians are indigenous; the other nationalities established themselves there later, as colonists.

On the East the frontier has to be marked between the Serbians and the Roumanians, and on the North between the Serbians and the Hungarians.

The Banat is composed of two parts, geographically and ethnographically independent of each other, with different economical relations and communications, which have represented during history special historical unities; besides, those two parts are of different ethnographical composition.

One of these parts is the *Western Banat* or the valley of the Banat which extends itself from the Tisza to Temesvar Vershatz and Bela Tzrkva, whilst the other, which extends itself East of these towns, is the *Eastern Banat* which is mountainous.

From the economical point of view, the Western Banat forms an unity with the valleys of the Morava and the Vardar. In the xviii and xixth centuries and nearly up to to-day (forty years ago) i. e. before the Hungarian Government introduced prohibitive measures — the commerce and the economical life of the Western Banat were intimately bound to Serbia. Temesvar was the centre of the commercial relations with the Balkans. When the Turkish invasion had destroyed the Serbian States of the Balkans, it was quite natural that the Serbian civilisation was continued on the territory of the Banat, on the North of the valley of the Morava. From the xvth to the xixth century the Banat was simply called Serbia — Rascia — because there the national life and national conscience of the Serbians was the most intensified. The Western Banat has never had intimate relations with Roumania from which it is separated by the mountainous barrier of the Carpathians.

Whilst the Western Banat, alone, constitutes a geographical and ethnographical unity, bound to Northern Serbia, whilst its Roumanian population has always remained without any numerical importance and has never played any part in the Roumanian civilisation, the Eastern Banat, the comitat of Kraso-Szorény on the contrary has always formed an ethnographical historic and economic unit with Transylvania.

Although this Eastern part of the Banat contains certain Serbian elements we raise no claim to it.

When the Magyars came into these regions they found autochthonous Slavs inhabiting them who according to the Hungarian historian Szentklary, were entertaining regular relations with the Slavs of the Balkans. Under the dynasty of the Arpads the Serbian population of these territories played an important part: they cooperated, as an autonomous army, in the conflict which took place between Hungary and Bohemia in the xiiith century and had at Court their own nobility.

After the battle of Kossovo the Banat received an additional population of Serbians from the Balkans. In 1414 the King of Hungary granted to Stévan Lazarevitch, Serbian « Despot », the title of Governor of the « Joupania » (county) of Torontal; George Brankovitch, Serbian « Despot » enlarged the domains of the Serbian « Despots » in adding to them the « Joupanias » of Tamis and Kraso where he exercised sovereign power.

After the destruction of Serbia in 1459 the emigration increased in such proportions that King Matthew could write to the Pope (the 12th of January 1483) that in the last four years about 200,000 Serbians had passed into Hungary. On the left side of the Danube a new Serbia was formed where the political life of the Serbians was concentrated. The grandson of Brankovitch, Zmaï Vouk, is appointed Serbian « Despot » in 1471 by the King of Hungary, with particular autonomous rights: he depends of the King of Hungary only. In case of war the Serbian « Despot » was bound to furnish a « Banderium » of 1000 horsemen, while the rest of the nobility, even the ban of Croatia, did not furnish more than 400 (« Despotus autem equites mille dare tenebitur » /Corpus juris Hungarici, p. 192, 606/.)

Generally speaking, up to the battle of Mohacs (1526) the Serbian « Despots » played an important political part in Hungary. The Hungarians retiring more and more to the North before the Turkish advance, the population of the Western and Central Banat became much more dense and acquired a completely Serbian character. On the maps of the xvth (Lazius) and of the xvth centuries (Tserning, Cluverius) the Central and Western Banat are called « Rascia », which means Serbian country. Nowhere are there any traces of Roumanians.

The Roumanians pretend that the Banat always constituted an historical and administrative unity. This affirmation lacks exactness. Firstly, the Eastern part of the Banat, i. e. the Comitatus of Kraso-Szöerény, has formed, with Small Valachia, up to the river Olt a military and administrative unity, a sort of « March » called the Banat of Severin. This division between the Eastern, Western and Central Banat continued to exist during the Turkish period. The division between the Eastern, Western and Central Banat continued to exist during the Turkish period. The Turks formed in 1552 the vilayet of Temisvar from the Central and Western Banat, whilst the actual Comitatus of Kraso-Szöerény was constituted in the « Banat of Karansebes and Lugos », whose Ban governed the country in the name of the Prince of Transylvania, with the residence in Karansebes. During the Austrian period the North of the Banat received in 1751 a civil administration, whilst the Southern Banat became, between 1768 and 1773, the military frontier (Militärgrenze). In 1774 one constituted, with the actual Comitatus of Torontal, the autonomous Serbian district of Velika Kikinda. The actual division, in three Comitatus, dates only from 1873 and 1874 when the military frontier and the autonomous district of Kikinda were abolished. One can see by this that the unity of the Banat has never existed and that the Eastern part of the same has always been intimately bound to Transylvania.

While she was at war with France, and in order to secure herself against the Turks, Austria invited the Patriarch Arsenié III to foment an insurrection against the Turks, promising to the Serbians, in an appeal addressed to them the 6th of April 1690, the free election of the « Voïvode » and the right to be governed freely according to their own will (« Ser-

vata imprimis religionis suae eligendique voivode libertate »
— Privilege of the 6th April 1690).

On August 21st, the Imperial Chancery proclaimed the privileges which formed the base of the religious and political autonomy of the Serbians in the Banat and the other regions (« Volumus, ut sub directione et dispositione proprii magistratus eadem gens Rasciana perseverarè et antiquis privilegiis ejusque consuetudinibus imperturbate frui valeat » Privilege of the 20th August 1691. — « Ut gens Rasciana solummodo nostrae caesarae regiaeque Majestatis subiecta, ab omni alia dependentia vero, tam comitatum quam dominorum terrestrium exempta maneat ». Privilege of the 31st May 1694).

After the peace of Pojarevatz (Passarovitz), in 1718, after Austria had decided to extend her expansion on the Balkans, the Germanisation of the Banat began; at the same time the Roumanians from Moldavia and Valachia were allowed to immigrate into that province; nevertheless, the Banat conserved its Serbian character.

The Austro-Hungarian Government twice recognized the Serbian character of southern Hungary. In 1790, the Serbian Diet (Sabor) of Temesvar, and in 1818 the Serbian Diet (Sabor) of Karlovtzi adopted a proposition creating the Serbian Voïvodina, including Syrmia, Batschka, the Banat and Baranya, and the Habsburgs adhered to the resolution of the Diet. The « Voïvode » Shuplikatz was confirmed the 3rd December 1818 and, on the 6th November 1819, Kraso was joined to the Serbian « Voïvodina ». But at the end of 1860 the Voïvodina was suppressed and, in 1867, she was incorporated to Hungary. Since that period the Hungarians began the Magyarization of the Banat and the other Serbian provinces.

The history does absolutely not mention the Roumanians in this part of the Banat where the Serbians had developed such a great political and cultural activity. The Roumanians did not descend into the great plain of the Banat before the xviiith century, in the same time as the German and Magyar colonists. The orthodox Roumanians of Transylvania and the Eastern Banat were placed under the juridiction of the Serbian Archbishops of Karlovtzi since the beginning of the xviiith century up to 1864 when an understanding was concluded between the Roumanians and the Court of Vienna ac-

cording to which the Roumanian church was separated from the Serbian church (Understanding concluded without the Patriarch's knowledge and his concurrence). Of three new dioceses, the Roumanians obtained only one, in Karansebes, in Eastern Banat, whilst the Serbians conserved their dioceses of Temesvar and Vershatz, which also proves, that, though the Austro-Hungarian Government wanted to restrain the Serbians, they could not contest them the Low-Banat.

The Serbian and Roumanian Populations

According to the general census of 1910, there are in the Comitát of Torontal, with Pancevo,

	199,750 Serbians,
and	86,937 Roumanians;
and in the Comitát of Tamis with Temesvar :	

	69,905 Serbians,
and	169,030 Roumanians;

besides, there are in these two Comitats, i. e. in the Western and Central Banat, about 41,600 other Slavs (Croatians, Slovaques, Ruthenes and others) whom the Hungarian statistics mention as « others ». Consequently, in these two Comitats, there are :

	311,255 Slaves,
and	255,967 Roumanians,
which	
gives	55,288 more Slavs than Roumanians.

The frontier we are demanding towards Roumania does not concord exactly with the frontier which separates the Comitats of Tamis and Kraso, as the latter leaves to Roumania a part of the Comitát of Tamis, comprising the districts of Buzias and Lipova, the whole district of Rekas, with the exception of the village of Bukovae, then two villages (Gertenyés and Sosd) of the district of Deta and gives to our State 13 localities of the district of Jam and 13 others from the district of Nova Moldava, belonging to the Comitát of Kraso.

In our part of the Banat thus delimited (See the annexed map) there are, according to the Hungarian statistics of 1910:

- 316,286 Slavs, including those that the Hungarian statistics classify under the heading of « others », and
- 212,396 Roumanians,
- i. e. 103,890 Roumanians less than Slavs.

We think it necessary to remark and to have it taken into consideration that in the Roumanian part of the Eastern Banat and in the other territories of Hungary which are claimed by Roumania there remain (according to the Hungarian statistics) about 70,000 Slavs.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Austrian, and later of the Hungarian Government, who used all allowed and forbidden means for weakening the Serbian character of the Banat by colonizing the same with Germans, Magyars and Roumanians, the principally Serbian character of that part of the Banat which we vindicate has been conserved and the number of its Serbian inhabitants is higher than the number of any other nationality. In this part, of the Banat there are 191,876 Magyars and 309,889 Germans in a total population of 1,042,058.

Moreover the Serbian character of this part of the Banat can equally be judged by the fact that *the Serbians of the Western and Central Banat possess eleven times more land than the Roumanians*. The Germans are not taken into consideration in this question of delimitation of the different nationalities. They are too far from their territories, are not established in a continuous territory and have no contact whatever with Germany. As for the Serbians and Roumanians who touch their national territories, they must be delimited. The Serbians are in contact in the South and in the West with their fellow-countrymen, and the Roumanians in the East.

In consequence, the delimitation between Serbians and Roumanians will have to be done in the East, and between Serbians and Hungarians in the North.

The delimitation between Serbians and Hungarians can be easily and equitably obtained. —In the Yougoslav part of the Banat there are 191,876 Magyars of whom a great number are State and other functionaries with their families. All the



20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100 km

--- Ancient boundaries
 --- Proposed "

D. J. Derocco

functionaries and officials of the railways, the roads, the canals and all the gendarmes are Magyars. Their number often reaches 20 % of the total population. If one deducts this number there only remain about 160,000 Magyars permanently established in our Banat, and they are nowhere in compact masses or in contact with the national Magyar territory.

Moreover, we must make the remark that the official Hungarian statistics are notoriously uncertain, especially to the detriment of the Slavs. We possess a proof of this in the statistics of the orthodox Serbians published by the Serbian Patriarchate of Karlovitzi, according to which the number of the Serbians in the Comitats of Torontal and Tamis amounts to 322,378 against only 269,651 as indicated in the Hungarian statistics.

The Banat, the Batchka and Syrmia constituted the Serbian Voïvodina of 1819, to 1860. The great majority of the population was Serbian. Afraid of this element which was in direct contact with Serbia, the Austrians and the Hungarians used to colonize these parts with foreign elements. Nevertheless the Serbians continued to remain much superior to the Roumanians in the Western and Central Banat, from the numerical and material point of view as well as the civilization in general.

The frontiers between the Kingdom of the Serbians, Croatsians and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Roumania will have to be such that they fulfil, from the strategic point of view, at least the following three conditions :

- 1) That the security of the Lower Banat be completely guaranteed ;
- 2) That Belgrade, the Capital of the Kingdom, be safe from all eventualities; and
- 3) That the valley of the Morava be assured against any military operations by surprise.

An effective defence of the Banat can only be secured by the line of defence which we propose as frontier. On the West of this line there is no strategic position of any value for the defence of our country. Moreover, this line which we take as frontier is itself dominated by all positions which are

on the East and it fulfils the real conditions of a good frontier only in a very limited measure.

Concerning the conditions which the new frontier must fulfil from the point of view of the security of the defence of Belgrade, it seems to us that they are quite clear and that they do not require any particular commentaries. One of the most important conditions of this security is that the Capital must be as far as possible from the frontier.

Lastly, a first class importance must be attached to the demand concerning the protection of the valley of the Morava.

The valley of the Morava has always been the aim of the most important military operations, directed against Serbia. Even to-day this valley presents the same strategic importance which it possessed since many centuries. It is without contestation a natural road of the greatest importance for the operations and communications and, consequently, its security must be guaranteed.

If we really wanted to fulfil those three strategic conditions the new frontier ought to be pushed much more to the East of the line which we propose. The frontier ought to pass, at least, along the line Kazan-Sterbetz-Svinjika-Kumlea — cote 1458 — Rechidjbanya-Lipova o/Moris, because this is the natural strategic line of defence on which the defence of our State could be organised.

This line dominates all the positions on the West, and, consequently, whoever is master of that line, is equally master, geographically and strategically, of all the other positions in the direction of the Tisza and the Danube; it would, therefore, be natural if the new frontier took this line.

However, we have drawn our frontier much more to the West, following a line less advantageous, in consequence of purely political considerations and in order to avoid at any price everything which could trouble the secular friendship which unites us with our neighbours, the Roumanians.

The Serbo-Bulgarian relations

As soon as Austria-Hungary declared war upon Serbia, Bulgaria published that she would observe a strict neutrality, a declaration which did not prevent her to organize armed incursions into the Serbian territory with the aim of cutting off the only way of communication which Serbia still had with the sea by Salonica.

And when later Turkey joined the war against Russia, Bulgaria instead of lending her help to her benefactress, did not hesitate to begin negotiations with Turkey and to commit a veritable parricide in entering the war against Russia and her Allies. Bulgaria has astonished and stupefied the whole world with her ingratitude towards the States which had created her. — She associated with Turkey and Germany; she decoyed the Powers of the Entente, she again attacked Serbia in the most critical moment, just when the latter was fighting against the combined armies of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and contributed in this way to prolong the war between the Entente and the Central Powers and to cause the loss of millions of human lives.

The war being prolonged for years. Greece, under the influence of King Constantine and a certain number of Germanophile Greek politicians, succumbed to that influence and concluded a secret arrangement with the enemy, abandoning the cause of the Allies to the detriment of Serbia and contrary to the treaty existing between Serbia and Greece. Roumania refused several times to negotiate with Greece and Serbia on the conduct which was to be held in common towards Bulgaria.

Meanwhile Bulgaria was exulting and celebrating in Nish, with the Kaiser, the German successes. All the political parties in the Sobranié made déclarations in which they expressed their satisfaction for the happy and glorious policy of King Ferdinand and his government; they also proclaimed

in the press that there flowed no Slay blood in the veins of the Bulgarian nation. And, really, judging by the cruelties, the ruins, the pillages, the massacres, the internments of citizens which they committed, they have left far behind them the Prussians. They killed the metropolitan of Skoplyé (Uskub) Vincent and burned his corpse; another metropolitan, Nicéphore, died in prison. The bishop Dossitiyé has only been liberated lately, although the poor man had done nothing else but to await them, when they arrived in Nish, the cross in his hands, begging them not to make any harm to the women, old men and children. They have killed 159 priests who had not committed a single crime; in the single department of Toplitza one fifth of the population, i. e. 20.000 persons, have been annihilated either by assassination, or ill treatment, internment, etc.; they butchered more than 3.000 citizens in the region between Vranýé to Sourdoulitza, etc., they have surpassed the Germans very much, who, in interning Cardinal Mercier in his own house, had yet raised the indignation of the whole world. They went so far in their wild passion of destroying everything, which was Serbian, that they stupefied even the Emperor of Germany and his politicians with their imperious demands to annihilate Serbia.

When the Serbian army assisted by the allied armies had defeated the Bulgarian army and the army of her allies, at Dobro Polyé, and had began their pursuit and their destruction and when, after a fortnight of battles, we had attained the Bulgarian frontier, the Bulgarian Headquarters sent parlementaries to ask for an armistice. The moment the armistice was granted, the Bulgarians were unable to hide the joy they were feeling that they saved their territory from an hostile occupation and they declared that they were ready to march against their old allies.

The Allies refused this offer with indignation. Turkey capitulated, the Austro-Hungarian Empire foundered and Germany was defeated.

Of all the preceeding assertions, based on historical facts, it results, with a clear evidence, that Bulgaria does not offer any guarantee whatever in her arrangements or in her conventions; it is also proved that she has violated the treaties she had signed. Under such conditions, what can

Serbia ask for her own security against such a neighbour, as a guarantee of the future peace and as security of her allies against every deceit, every surprise, and every betrayal ?

As the Germans and their chiefs will have to answer for all the evil they have done, the Bulgarians and their chiefs who have even surpassed their allies in crimes of all sorts will also have to be made responsible of their misdoings. And Bulgaria will have to reconstitute everything which was devastated and annihilated, demolished, robbed, burned, by her rage of destruction. Serbia must take all the measures of precaution against such a neighbour; the least she must do will be to put herself in a position to defend her territory before the enemy succeeds to reach and to paralyse her vital arteries; she will have therefore to secure the liberty of her communications by rail with Salonica and Greece as well as with Roumania and Southern Russia.

In consequence, we demand guarantees against sudden and treacherous attack; we can only get these guarantees if our frontier is rectified in such a way that Bulgaria cannot cut off our most important communications with Greece and Roumania. —One must not forget the attacks executed by gangs coming from Bulgaria through Stroumitza against our railway Skoplyé-Salonika, at the time of the transport of munitions, provisions and Serbian troops and especially the attacks of the Bulgarian army which, in 1915, contributed to oblige the Serbian army to effectuate its retreat through Albania instead of descending the valley of the Vardar towards Salonica. Similar attacks against the Timok railway resulted in the rupture of the railway communications even before the war had commenced. These vital arteries of Serbia must, in consequence, be protected against any danger. This request from our part is the more justified as populations of our race known under the name of « Shops » extend themselves very far to the other side of our frontiers up to the regions of the river Iskar.

Concerning this population we must make the following remarks: It forms one unit with the Serbian population of the Eastern part of Serbia, along the Timok and on the East of the Southern Morava. The ethnical qualities, the language and the characteristic national customs (Slava, Zadrouga — family community — etc.) which accuse a purely

Serbian character, are the same in both parts of this population, in the one which is still under the domination of the Bulgarians, as well as in the part which is in Serbia. In the past, an important part of these territories belonged to the Serbian state under the reign of Serbian sovereigns and the Turkish invasion found them united with the Serbian State. The Bulgarian propaganda developed itself in these regions, especially during the last century of the Turkish domination which was trying to stifle the Serbian revolutionary spirit. This population shared in the different movements and in the numerous struggles of the Serbians for their independence. The Serbian revolutions of the xviith, xviiith and xixth century manifested the tendency and tried to liberate these territories from this foreign domination. Although a powerful propaganda was made by the Exarchate in favour of the Bulgarians among this population for many years, the conscience of the Serbian origin in the population of these countries has not been stifled and has always shown itself whenever the possibility arose; one must not forget that wherever the Bulgarian oppression penetrated it did not allow to the Serbian element any affirmation of its national life. One knows that the Bulgarians, besides the means which the organization of the Exarchate gave them by the misuse of religious motives for the national propaganda, largely used terroristical measures in persecuting and massacring without pity all those who were opposed to their propaganda and who refused to have the name of Bulgarian imposed upon them. What is more, the people of these territories were protesting and asking with written petitions not to be submitted to the jurisdiction of the Exarchate. Such petitions were addressed in 1874 to the Sultan and to the Patriarchate of Constantinople by the inhabitants of the dioceses of Samokov and Kustendil. These petitions were asking at the same time the re-establishment of the Serbian Patriarchate of Petch (Ipek). At the time of the Congress of Berlin, which recognized Serbia as a sovereign State and created vassal Bulgaria, a great part of that population was unjustly handed over to Bulgaria, although the desires and wishes of this people to be united to Serbia were well known. In the petitions submitted on this behalf to the Congress of Berlin are mentioned the territories of Vidin, Kustendil, Trn, Breznik, Pernik, Radomir, etc... One

of these petitions, the one sent by the towns of Trn and Breznik, had 15.000 signatures. It is equally interesting to remember that in his memoirs Count Ignatieff, who was ambassador of Russia in Constantinople at the time of the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878) recognizes that the district of Vidin is Serbian. But under the influence of the Prussian imperialistic spirit, one did not consider this wish of the people and the Congress proceeded in this question in the same way as it was done for the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina « *comme si les peuples n'étaient que des meubles ou des pions dans un jeu* » (as if the nations were only pieces of furniture or pawns in a game).

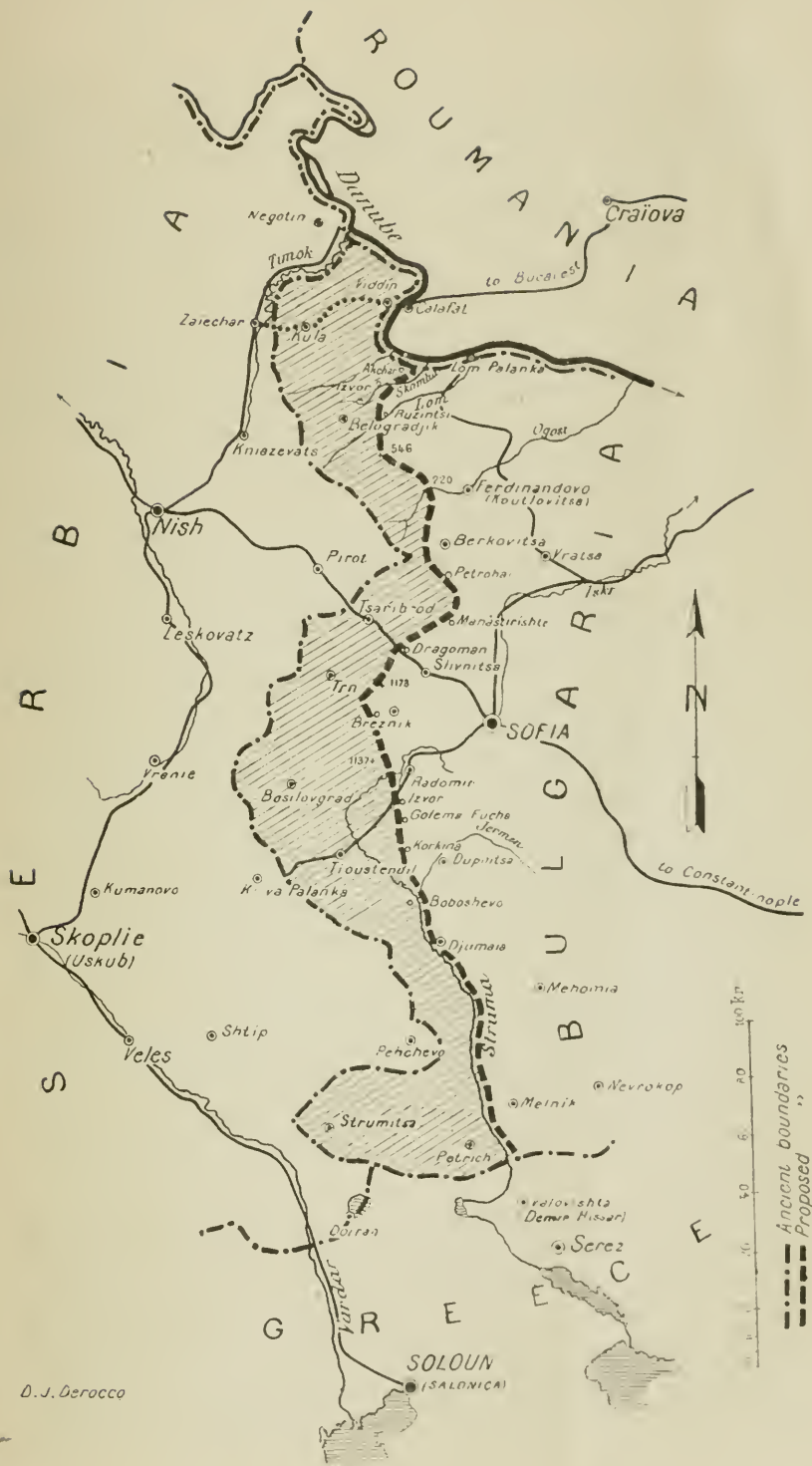
The injustice committed by the Congress of Berlin towards our country must be repaired, at least in a certain measure; that is why we claim a rectification of our actual Eastern frontier in the limits indicated later. Besides, this claim is justified by important, elementary, economical and national necessities as well as by the absolute necessities of the defence of our country against new agressions coming from that side.

These reasons show that with the acceptation of our demand the principle of nationalities would not be injured.

When the hour of the verdict will have come, one must not separate Bulgaria from Germany, otherwise the evil would only aggravate and Bulgaria would feel encouraged to repeat in the future similar acts as soon as she would consider the circumstances favourable.

Frontier with Bulgaria

Beginning from the Greek frontier where it passes the river Strouma, the frontier ascends this river direct to the North to the mouth of its left tributary, the Dzermen (to the East of the village Boboshevo), from this point the frontier continues towards the North along the crest passes through the villages Korkin, Futchá Golema, Izvor, crosses the road Kustendil-Sophia and, following the summit, it reaches the cotes 1137, 629, 1173; from this point it turns to North-East and crosses the road Pirot-Sophia at the issue of the Dragoman pass, leaving the village of Dragoman on the



Bulgarian side; then it turns to the East and North-East, following the summit of the mountains, reaches the village of Monastirishte, continues to the North towards Petroff Han, where it crosses the road Sophia-Lom-Palanka, turns then to the North-West following the summit to the cote 1969 and continues to the North along the summit, to the West of the river Ogost, which it crosses at the cote 220, then it reaches the cote 785, from where it turns to the West down to the cote 545. It continues then to the North towards the village of Dugintzi, where it crosses the river Lom, continues to the East of the village Izvor, where it turns to the North-West and reaches the Danube between the village of Aktchar and the mouth of the river Skomlia.

In support of our demand to have our frontier rectified we will lay stress upon, besides the already exposed reasons, the following purely strategical considerations :

The actual frontier does not at all guarantee the security of the Morava and the Vardar valleys which are used by the principal artery of communication, the railway Belgrade-Nish-Skoplye-Salonica. In the directions Sophia-Vranye and Kustendil-Vranye it is distant of the above railway 16 km. and in the direction Stroumitza-Davidova only 9 km.

— This proximity of the frontier very seriously menaces that line of communication which represents for us the principal line of mobilization and of concentration of our troops on all fronts and we must secure it completely against any sudden attacks.

The actual frontier which passes down the valley of the Timok is still less favourable for us. Parallel to it is the railway line Danube Zayetchar-Kniajevatz-Nish, branch of the principal line of the Transbalkanic railway which ought to connect Russia and Rumania with the Adriatic and the Aegian sea.

This line of communication, very important by itself already, is in the immediate proximity of the Bulgarian frontier posts and could be cut off by the Bulgarians at any moment, when the latter think it is in their interest to do so.

In the same way, important strategic objects in the valleys of the Morava, Vardar and Timok, as Zaiyetchar, Kniajevatz, Pirot, Nish, Vranyé, Leskovatz, and Skoplié are not only

exposed to a sudden attack from the Bulgarian army, but they are, so to say, at the range of their guns.

During the last wars, the Bulgarians utilized all the strategic advantages due to a frontier so disadvantageous for us. By a sudden attack against the Serbian troops which were protecting the frontier they succeeded to take Vranjé and Krivolak and to occupy in this way the railway Belgrade-Salonica, and to separate the Serbian army from its base, Salonica, and from its only line of communication. To what disastrous, not to say fatal, consequences did the Serbian army find itself exposed all at once, without any line of retreat, without communications, separated from its base; and it was obliged to effectuate its retreat through Albania and Montenegro, instead of taking the direction of Salonica where the army could have rapidly taken contact with our Allies and would probably have avoided the catastrophe.

In order to prevent that in the future the same thing happens again, the valleys of the Morava and the Vardar must be protected in a more effective way.

With the frontier which we propose Sophia will not be menaced by us, as we leave in the hands of the Bulgarians the fortified camp of Slivnitza. Such a way of acting on our part denotes clearly that we simply desire to have a better frontier for our defence, claims which we cannot abandon.

It is particularly interesting to draw the attention to the proximity of the actual frontier with the railway in the sector Négotine-Kniajévats, on the front Leskovatz-Vranić and in the sector Krivolak-Guevgüeli; it is quite evident that it is impossible to keep the actual frontier without danger for the security of our State and that the only way to guarantee one self against eventual Bulgarian invasions is to adopt the frontier we have proposed.

Before concluding we must repeat that it is especially on the side of the Bulgarians that we must have a frontier fulfilling all the conditions of a good defensive frontier, because the Bulgarians are disloyal neighbours who are capable of anything the moment their interest is at stake and who, in such cases, do not abstain from any knavish tricks. The best proofs hereof are given by history itself. Till now we have had 18 wars with Bulgaria. Only one of these has been pro-

voked by us: the war of 1885 which was however, declared and made accordingly to all rules of International and War Law; the other 17 wars have all been provoked by the Bulgarians; not a single one of them has been declared in conformity with the rules of International Law; we have, indeed, always been attacked treacherously and without previous declaration.

These are the reasons which, in consequence of a distressing historical experience, oblige us to claim this light modification of our frontier with Bulgaria which has always been a bad neighbour for us and which would seize the first favourable occasion to rush on our territory.

ALBANIA

The Delegation of the Serbo-Croato-Slovene Government considers that the general interest, the peace and the tranquillity of the Balkanic Peninsula require that the Albanian territory, such as it has been delimited at the Conference of London, forms an independent State, in conformity with the spirit of the decisions of that Conference. Such a solution would allow the Albanian tribes to contribute themselves to the formation of their own State and would answer to the principle: « The Balkans to the Balkanic peoples », principle which is the essential base of the tranquillity and the peaceful development of the Balkanic nations.

In the course of this war, the provisional Government of Albania, with the major part of the Albanian nation, adhered to the Entente, in helping, as much as they could, the common cause of the Allies; in acting like that they could not fail to hope to receive the guarantee of their liberty.

Yet, in case the Conference thought it were impossible to apply, in this matter, the decisions taken, in 1913, in London, and were disposed to recognize to a foreign State a right of occupation or protectorate over the totality or a part of the said territory, we must declare that we mean to keep the right of guaranteeing our vital interest in these regions, consecrated by thirteen centuries of neighbourhood and common life with the Albanian tribes, in claiming the same rights for our own State.

The military effort of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes in the war 1914-18

The course of the political events that immediately preceded the war is well known. We will only underline the fact that Serbia has been attacked, when she never had the intention of making war. She was feeling, indeed, an absolute need of peace; her people, after the Balkanic wars, of 1912-13 was aspiring to rest and wanting only to return to normal life.

Conscious of her part and of her task, Serbia understood that she was engaging a decisive struggle in which not only her own destiny was going to be played but also the destiny of all the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes bent under the yoke of the Habsburgs, and she rose for the defence of her liberty and her independence, as well as for the independence of the whole Serbo-Croato-Slovene nation.

Weakened and small in numbers the Serbian army had neither arms, ammunition, nor equipments: that is why the Austrian statesmen and army commanders thought they would vanquish her rapidly. For this reason they gave to the first attack the name of « punishing expedition » (Strafexpedition). In giving this name to their operations against Serbia they perhaps wanted to justify beforehand the numerous atrocities which they committed.

Serbia mobilized all men able to carry weapons; she equipped them, gave them rifles of different models, using even very old ones; she also employed the old de Bange guns which were out of use long ago. In this way, from the very beginning she opposed to the enemy a badly equipped and insufficiently armed army, but with a splendid morale.

Period of 1914-1915

The operations of the Austro-Hungarian army began with the bombardment of all Serbian towns, along the Save and the Danube. The civil population suffered the most from these bombardments. A little later, the 13-th August 1914, the Austro-Hungarian army undertook a powerful offensive with a view of outflanking the front by crossing the Drina and the Sava. The first successes which the enemy troops put to their credit against our feeble rear-guard elements intoxicated them and, when they invaded our territory, they committed numerous acts of barbarism: burnings of villages and towns, murders and hangings of children, women and old people.

The Serbian army which had been regrouped on the central position formed by the line Valiyevo-Arandiyelovatz-Palanka, marched against the enemy masses; they joined them very soon, and after a sanguinary battle of six days on the Yadar and the Tser, won a complete victory.

The enemy was quite defeated and thrown back on the other side of the frontier, leaving in our hands nearly 10,000 prisoners, some 60 cannon and a considerable quantity of other war material.

At the same time the war was equally raging on the other allied fronts. Although greatly weakened by the losses we had suffered, especially in consequence of our deficiency in heavy artillery and ammunition, our army did not content itself with this success. In order to answer to the desires of our allies and to immobilize an important part of the Austro-Hungarian army and to alleviate the already critical military position of the Russians, we rapidly concentrated our forces; then, in the first days of September, we undertook simultaneously two offensives: one on the other side of the Sava in Syrmia, the other in Bosnia towards Sarayevo.

These offensives were pursued with success; in a few days, nearly the whole of Syrmia fell into our hands; in Bosnia, our troops, seconded by Montenegrin troops, attained to the gates of Sarayevo. But an hostile counter-offensive led with important forces was produced on the inferior course of the Drina: the Montenegrin army was obliged to retire on the other side of the Drina and our advance was stopped.

In consequence of this situation, the first army abandoned Syrmia in order to come to the help of the other parts of the Serbian army which were laboriously resisting on the Drina and our advance was stopped.

In consequence of this situation, the first army abandoned Syrmia in order to come to the help of the other parts of the Serbian army which was laboriously resisting on the Drina while our troops with the Montenegrin troops were obliged to retire from Sarajevo.

For fifty days fierce fights were pursued without interruption. During this period, our troops held the enemy nailed within the angle formed by the Sava and the Drina and on the mountain chain which spreads on the right side of the Drina.

But, in consequence of the superiority of the enemy forces, especially in heavy artillery, in consequence also of our want of ammunition we were obliged to retreat in the first days of November and to abandon Belgrade.

Defending step by step the national territory, we slowly retired during a whole month and reformed our troops on the central positions lying North of Gorni-Milanovatz-Kragoujevatz and Mladenovatz.

As soon as the first arrival of ammunition had come from France (about 30.000 shells) we again attacked the enemy — who had already spread the news of his complete and definitive victory—and, in scarcely nine days, we completely defeated him and threw him out of our frontier.

Our victory was decisive: about 60.000 prisoners, 300 cannon, and a considerable quantity of material remained in our hands; but this victory was bought at the price of very heavy sacrifices. Our unities very much reduced, were only the skeleton of their primitive formations. The want of ammunition and clothings, the bad equipment of the men, the re-victualling, rendered difficult by the insufficiency of the lines of communication, which were in a very bad state or had even been destroyed by the enemy, all these causes, in addition to the bad season, did not allow the Serbian army to profit to the end of our victory and to undertake a strategical pursuit of great extent. Besides, at the same time a terrible epidemic of exanthematical typhus broke out which had been

introduced by the enemy troops. We suffered enormous losses, in the ranks of the army as well as among the civil population, and the epidemic was definitely checked only in the month of May 1915, thanks to the generous assistance sent by our allies, but especially thanks to the help given to us by numerous American, British, and French physicians who had hastened to Serbia.

In calling two new classes we managed to fill up, to a certain extent the vacancies in the ranks of our army and made active preparations for new offensive undertakings on the other side of the Sava and the Drina.

When, in August 1915 these preparations were terminated and when all dispositions for the offensive had already been taken, that is when the Serbian army was on the point to attack the enemy for the third time, the retreat of the Russian army modified the situation.

The attitude of Bulgaria was becoming openly hostile and very soon commenced the preparations of a new offensive, concerted this time between Austria-Ungary, Germany and Bulgaria.

In the beginning of October 1915, Serbia was attacked on three different sides, on a front exceeding a thousand kilometres by enemy forces nearly three times superior to her own.

Yet the Serbian army was resisting and tenaciously defending her positions against all attacks. But treacherously attacked in the rear by the whole Bulgarian army (about 400.000 combattants), abandoned by her ally Greece, Serbia was driven into a very critical situation, aggravated by the delay of her great allies to come to her help; she had to choose between a capitulation and the retreat through Albania i. e. through impracticable mountains without any roads where her army could not find anything for her subsistence. And yet she decided on this last solution, and her troops took the road of Albania where they found, after having gone through immense and indescribable sufferings and after having had terrible losses, the welcome and the assistance of our allies, especially of the British and French. At the beginning of 1916 our army was transported to Corfu; only a very small part of the fighting troops and the majority of the

wounded and sick were transported to Bizerte and to other great towns of French North Africa.

From the very first days of this period and during the whole course of these events, Montenegro courageously stood on the side of Serbia. After having mobilized all the population able of wearing arms, that country had formed an army of fifty thousand men who had bravely fought at the side of our own, repulsed the attack of considerable enemy forces and taken part in our offensive against Sarayevo. The retreat of the Serbian army made their position just as critical: capitulation or retreat through Albania; no other choice. Unfortunately, in consequence of the faint-heartedness of the Government circles the Montenegrin army capitulated and the enemy could occupy the whole of Montenegro.

Period 1916-1917-1918

In Corfou, although their disembarkment was made under very difficult conditions, in the absence of every cantonment and every preparation for their reception, the Serbian troops succeeded to organize themselves in a period of two months. The heavy losses which our troops had suffered during the preceding campaign had reduced their effectives to one hundred and fifty thousand men. But although reduced to six divisions of infantry and one division of cavalry our troops, well embodied and animated with a remarkable morale, still represented an important factor of the allied army on the Salonica front; their last elements were transported there from Corfu at the end of the month of May 1916.

Immediately after they had received their arms and equipments in the Chalcidica, our troops occupied a notable part of the Macedonian front, nearly the whole of the front on the right side of the Vardar. In consequence of this occupation the situation of the allied army was notably bettered towards the enemy as well as towards Greece whose conduct, under the reign of King Constantine had always been threatening for the security of the allies.

The arrival of the Serbian army on the front was marked by many small engagements with the Bulgarians; our troops successfully attacked their adversaries on every place where

it was necessary to conquer favourable positions in view of the future development of the operations.

With the aim of preventing Rumania to join the war on the side of the allies, to separate, near Salonica, the allied army from Greece and to give the latter a favourable occasion to attack the allies, the Bulgarians commenced in the month of August an offensive in the environs of Monastir. After partial and very expensive successes won from one of our divisions which had been thrown on a considerable front, the Bulgarians were stopped and repulsed thanks to the rapid arrival of our reinforcements and to the resistance of our troops which occupied the positions West of the lake Ostrova.

A short time later our troops undertook an energetical offensive which lasted three whole months, nearly to the end of 1916; during this offensive and with the help of the allied troops we liberated Monastir and a part of our country, but it was not possible to further pursue the victory.

The allied army, having no reserves, was extremely tired and weakened; on the other hand, the Bulgarians were considerably reinforced, by several German regiments and a powerful artillery, especially heavy artillery.

These severe losses, were principally felt by the Serbian army of which thirty thousand men had been killed or wounded; our only resource to fill up our losses consisted in the reinforcements which Yougoslav volunteers brought us from all parts of the world, but, for different reasons, their arrival was very slow and difficult. For this reason, the Serbian G. H. Q. was obliged to suppress an infantry regiment in every division.

The Serbian G. H. Q. at the Paris conference in March 1916 as well as in many other circumstances, underlined the importance of the Balkan front and of the great results one could gain there with a victory on that front: to arrive to this result a reinforcement of four to six divisions and about sixty pieces of heavy artillery would have been sufficient. The result would have been the rupture of the line Berlin-Constantinople, the elimination of Bulgaria from the Quadruple Alliance and the isolation of Turkey. The Serbian G. H. Q., in its memorandums and by the medium of its delegate to the

allied conferences of March 1916, November 1916 and by the medium of its special delegate of November 1917 always demanded the reinforcement of the Salonica front proving that the European war would be resolved on that front. All these memoranda terminated thus; « Political and military reasons demand it because:

1) By a victory gained on the Bulgarians, the communication Berlin-Constantinople would be cut, Serbia reconstituted, which would be advantageous for our allies and very prejudicial, from all points of view, for the Central Powers;

2) By a victory gained on the Bulgarians, Turkey would be obliged to sign peace;

3) All the events of the war have proved till now that Austria-Hungary represents the feeble part of the central powers; Bulgaria and Turkey, once out of action, one ought to attack Austria-Hungary with all allied forces. Her southern frontier not being fortified, she would quickly be obliged to sue for peace.

For all these reasons, the Salonica front is very important and it is indispensable to accord it a very serious attention ».

Yet, all these memoranda remained without result; the Serbian G. H. Q. profited of this forced expectation to prepare our common victory: in 1916 a division composed of Serbian, Croatian and Slovene volunteers gloriously fought in the Dobroudja with the Roumanian and Russian armies; during the winter of 1916 and in the spring of 1917 a new division of Yougoslav volunteers was formed; these two divisions constituted an army-corps under the command of a Serbian general.

The Russian revolution and the events which followed it on the Russo-Roumanian front prevented those troops to continue their fight on this front. The Royal Government and the Serbian G. H. Q. requested the allies to transport this army to the front of Salonica. Different difficulties, political and technical, did not permit this transport before the spring of 1918, partly by Arkhangel, partly by Vladivostok; but these troops were then reduced nearly by half i. e. to

one division, in consequence of the propaganda of the Russian Bolcheviks and the difficulties of supplies and transport.

By the arrival of that division of volunteers from Russia, of some thousands of volunteers from America and France and a small number coming from Italy (whom Italy had accepted in her ranks) the Serbian army was reinforced in satisfactory proportions. The allied troops had equally had their effectives and their heavy artillery reinforced.

However, the great enemy offensive on the Western front, as well as the peace which had been concluded with Russia and Roumania, had put the allied armies of Salonica in a very serious situation. The enemy could, in a relatively short time, bring reinforcements sufficient for undertaking a powerful offensive on the Salonica front, whilst the allied army, not only could not be reinforced, but had even been weakened by the withdrawal of the Russian division, and later of a British cavalry brigade and of a British infantry division immediately after.

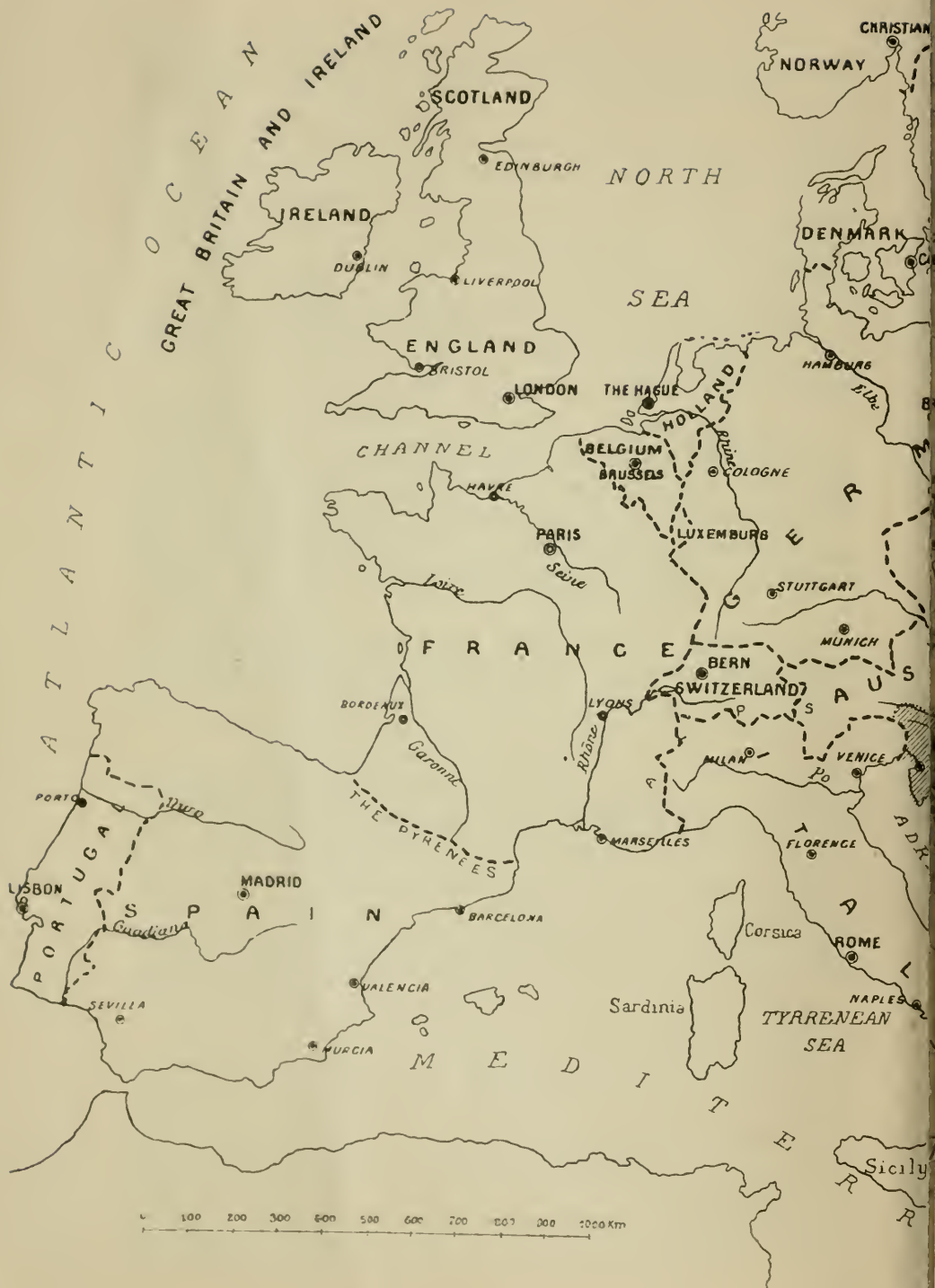
The Greek army, with the exception of the corps of the National Defence, was only in the period of organization and armament; one could not, therefore, rely on their aid.

This situation obliged the allied army to face all the contingencies of a great and powerful enemy offensive.

The Serbian army, after two years of uninterrupted combats on a very difficult front, was rightly expecting to see its front restricted. However, we were obliged, as well as the allied troops, to stretch the front in order to allow the creation of the necessary reserves.

Notwithstanding this difficult situation, we did not remain inactive in face of the enemy during the first half of 1918: we executed several attacks on the enemy positions which were crowned with success.

When, in the second half of the same year a great offensive had been decided on the front of Salonica, the Serbian G. H. Q. consented to its being executed on the front of the Serbian army. The Serbian G. H. Q. and the Serbian army understood very well that one was entering the supreme phase of the war; they accepted, with a complete confidence in the Victory, the idea of a decisive offensive against the





Bulgarians and the Germans, offensive to which we had to devote ourselves completely.

In less than two months, we made the necessary preparations; constantly observed by the enemy, who, thanks to his dominating position and notwithstanding all our precautions, could see all our preparations. In the middle of September, the whole Serbian army and two French divisions began to attack, assisted by the offensives of the other allied troops on all the front.

The Franco-Serbian troops threw themselves into the fight with such an ardour that, after a struggle of fortyeight hours, they succeeded to pierce the front which the enemy G. H. Q. had considered impregnable; immediately after, the Serbian army undertook the energetic pursuit of the enemy.

In five days, on a front of 16 miles, we realized an advance of 38 miles, crossed the Vardar and put, in this way, on both sides of the Vardar an important portion of the adverse forces in a situation without issue.

Although the enemy had reinforced his lines with ten regiments, he did not succeed to stop the push of the Serbian troops which continued their pursuit towards Skoplyé (Uskub), Kumanovo and Tzarevo Sélo. In a fortnight, the Bulgaro-German army was beaten on a large front and cut in two: magnificent success which allowed our troops to penetrate into Bulgarian territory and which brought about the capitulation of Bulgaria.

The result of this offensive was to give the allies 90.000 prisoners, more than 800 cannon and enormous quantities of war material artillery, and, all together, we pursued our victorious march for the liberation of the country of all the Serbians, Croatsians and Slovenes.

The Germano-Austro-Hungarian army composed of three German divisions and two Austro-Hungarian divisions with some fragments of German troops from the eleventh Bulgaro-German army under the command of General Koeves, tried to stop our advance on the ancient frontiers of Serbia.

In a fight which lasted two days near Vranýé, our troops completely routed the ninth Austro-Hungarian division which had been thrown in front in order to protect the concentration and the organization of the enemy troops desti-

ned to the defence of Nish. With a single jump, they reached Nish, although they felt a great want in ammunition and after a fierce fight of three days, against an enemy twice as strong, they completely routed him and delivered Nish.

After that our troops easily broke the enemy resistance; in forty-five days of unceasing fights and forced marches our first army, covering 440 miles, without any revictualling nor boots, victoriously arrived on the banks of the Sava and the Danube, liberating thus the whole of Serbia and Belgrade her capital. Immediately after, we crossed the Sava, the Drina and the Danube, carrying with us the greeting of liberty to all our nation of three names; at the same time our other troops were directed against Scutari, were beating the last remnants of the Austro-Hungarian army of Albania, were taking Scutari and delivering the whole of Montenegro.

The offensive, which had commenced the 15th of September, permitted our troops to execute a remarkable operation, as Skoplye was already taken on the 26th of September, Vranje the 4th of October; Leskovatz, the 7th; Nish, the 13th, Paratchin the 23rd; Pojarevatz the 28th; and at this date we had already reached the Danube. On the second of November our troops entered Belgrade and on the 14th they terminated the war, and entered Temeshvar, Arad, Zagreb, Lyoublyana, Rieka, Dubrovnik, Cattaro, achieving thus the deliverance of all Yougoslavia.

As one sees, a campaign of two weeks had sufficed to compel the capitulation of a Bulgaro-German army of half a million men. The Bulgarian army, was completely annihilated after a fight of a few days and obliged to kneel before the Serbian army. In order to obtain this result, our army had to put in the game all their physical and moral resources up to the extreme limit of their possibilities. Although inferior in number, extenuated by fights which had been lasting several years already and by enormous losses, they did not mind any sacrifices in men and blood for the common cause of the supreme fight to vanquish and deliver their country, or to die.

They did not flinch before any sacrifice, did not dread either losses or hunger, always rushing forwards, bootless, in order to prevent the enemy to escape defeat. What other

armies judged impossible, the Serbian army has done; they pursued the enemy in his definitive retreat, making daily an average of 25 miles, and sometimes more than 38 miles.

But this great victory has cost the Serbian people considerable sacrifices.

The effort which Serbia has made in the World's War and the losses she has sustained for the success of the allied cause are shown, with a clear evidence, by the official figures which follow:

Serbia had mobilized :

in July 1914	489.500 men;
in September she had under	
her flags	532.710 men;
and in August	572.121 men.

She has mobilized in all, during the war, from the 1-st of July 1914 to October 1915: 707.343 men, which amounts to 24 % of her total population or 40 % of her male population

No State has furnished such an effort during this war.

Yet, this is only the effort made by the Serbian nation from Serbia. If one adds all the Yougoslav volunteers from Austria-Hungary who have formed special units fighting on the fronts of Russia, Salonika and Roumania, as well as those who have fought in small units or individually in the American, French and Italian armies, this number is considerably greater.

Serbia formed, with Yougoslav volunteers, an Army-Corps of two divisions which operated in Russia and which amounted to 40.000 men. After the Roumanian catastrophe 15.000 men of that corps were brought to the Salonika front; they composed there the Yougoslav division which was covered with glory during the offensive of September 1918.

Besides, 10.000 volunteers from America, France, Italy and Russia arrived on the Salonika front; they were employed to reinforce the actual amount of Serbian units.

If one adds to this figure the number of the men who fought on the other fronts of the allied Armies, one can say that at least 100.000 Yougoslav volunteers have taken part in the battles against the common enemy. — which means that the Serbian nation has levied, during this war, 800.000 soldiers, including the 50.000 men mobilized by Montenegro.

The losses sustained by our Army in this war are enormous.

According to official figures they are the following :

In 1914	69.022 killed, died of wounds or sickness ;
In 1915	56.842 — — — —
	(till September).
In 1915	150.000 — — — —
	(during the retreat through Albania).
In 1916	7.208 killed, died of wounds or sickness;
In 1917	2.270 — — — —
In 1918	7.000 . — — — —
Total :	292.342

When one adds to this number the 77.278 missed during the retreat of Albania and who are certainly dead, the Serbian Army has lost in this war 369.620 men. *that is half of the mobilized men.*

Concerning the losses of the Montenegrin Army, we do not possess the exact figures, but they are surely not inferior to 20.000 killed or dead in consequence of wounds or sickness.

But theses losses are only those of the Serbian Army; one must add the losses sustained — according to the Austrian papers themselves — of the population which had remained behind in Serbia, as well as those which were sustained in the concentration camps of prisoners or interned; they are not less than 630.000. It results, therefore, *that the Serbian nation, in Serbia alone, has given one million men who died for the victory on the common enemy.*

We regret very much not to be able to give complete statistical figures on the amount of Yougoslavs who fell on the other fronts; but we believe that the above figures are already sufficiently eloquent to prove the veritable catastrophe which the Serbian nation was submitted to, the Serbian nation which remained true to their Allies — notwithstanding all these terrible losses — unto the end; and for these reasons our nation hopes that our Allies will unanimously help us to realize our national unity.

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